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Death of S^r. Nicholas Clifford.

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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

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OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

VOYAGES,
TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,

FROM THE
TIME OF COLUMBUS
TO THE
PRESENT PERIOD.

"Non apud inde tulit collectos sedula flores." Ovid.

BY WILLIAM MAJOR, LL.D.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR E. NEWBERRY,
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1796.



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GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

EARLY VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH

TO THE

COAST OF AFRICA.

NOTWITHSTANDING their insular situation, which, of all others, is best adapted for navigation, the English were long ignorant of the advantages which nature had given them, or indifferent about their application. But it is characteristic of this nation, when once roused, to persevere long; to improve on whatever original ingenuity has produced; and, by steadily pursuing the same object, undaunted by opposition, undismayed by difficulties, to leave all competitors behind.

The English, indeed, had not the glory of discovering America, but they soon followed in the same course; they did not find out the way to the east, but when the track was opened, they soon joined in the pursuit, and participated in the spoils.

The amazing exertions of the Portuguese, in their African and East Indian expeditions, roused all nations to emulation. The Spaniards had endeavoured to share the advantages, and the English failed not to imitate their example. Spain, indeed, seems in this respect to have fa-

voured the views of our countrymen; but the remonstrances of the Portuguese gave a temporary check to their designs. It appears, however, that the English frequently traded to the Canary Islands, and even established factors there to conduct their trade.

It was about the middle of the sixteenth century, that the spirit of commerce began to display itself in England; and a favourable conjunction of circumstances not only kept it alive, but extended its influence in the south as well as the north.

About the year 1551, Captain Thomas Wyndham, in the *Lion*, sailed to Morocco, whither he carried back two Moors, of the royal family, who had been in England. This was our first recorded voyage to the western coast of Africa; and few are the particulars relative to it, which have reached these times. It appears, however, that one James Alday, a servant to Sebastian Cabato, represented himself as the first promoter of this traffic with Barbary. In a letter to a friend, he observes, that the command of this ship, and the conduct of the voyage, ought to have belonged to him; but that Sir John Lutterel, John Fletcher, Henry Ostrich, and others, with whom he had joined, died of the sweating sickness; and that he himself, with difficulty, escaped that alarming malady. He farther states, that before his recovery, Thomas Wyndham sailed away with the ships from Portsmouth, by which he lost the sum of eighty pounds. Alday, if we may believe his own account, seems to have been very ill used; but as success in all ages has generally been set down for merit, next year, 1552, we find Wyndham performed a se-

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cond voyage to Zafin and Santa Cruz, without the straights which he had visited the year before. This gave great offence to the Portuguese, who menaced to treat the English as enemies, if they were found within those limits.

Notwithstanding these threats, the following year, the same Wyndham and Antonio Anes Pinteado, a Portuguese, the promoter of this attempt, undertook a voyage to Guinea, with three ships and a hundred and forty men. They traded along the coast for gold, after which they sailed for Benin, to load pepper. In this the two principals in the expedition disagreed. Pinteado knew that the climate and the season of the year were most inimical to health; but he was overruled by Wyndham, who, too late, discovered the truth of his associates remarks; and after having the mortification to see many of his men fall a sacrifice to the climate, soon fell sick himself and died. Pinteado, on whom the command now devolved, was grossly abused by the crews. Before it was possible to get some of the merchants on board, who were attending the court of Benin, he was compelled to set sail, and was at last superseded and thrust among the cabin boys, where he fell a martyr to a broken heart. Scarcely forty of the men returned to Plymouth; and on the whole, this was a disastrous voyage.

But every attempt threw new light on the subject; and the errors of their predecessors were a direction for the conduct of succeeding mariners. It was found that this trade was greatly productive and susceptible of much improvement; it is not, therefore, matter of surprize, that one adventurer followed another in the same career.

In 1554, Captain John Lock made a voyage to Africa with three ships; and trading along the coast with cautious circumspection, was fortunate enough to obtain a considerable quantity of gold and ivory in exchange for merchandise. Captain Towerion made three voyages to this quarter in the following years, with various success; but the details are little interesting. Baker, Carlet, and Fenner are likewise mentioned as being engaged in the African trade; but where trade is the principal object, it is seldom that the narrative of transactions would be thought worthy of general regard.

This short, connected view, however, of the early progress of the English on the coasts of Africa we judged necessary: to have said more, would have swelled the volume without increasing its value. But it should be observed, that upon application to Queen Elizabeth by certain merchants, two patents were granted; one for the Barbary, or Morocco trade, in 1585; and the other for the Guinea trade, between the Rivers Senegal and Gambia, in 1588. A third, exclusive patent, was obtained by another party of adventurers, to trade from the River Nonnia to the south of Sierra Leona, extending for about one hundred leagues. These patents gave rise to the African Company.

The views of the English enlarging with their successful efforts, and finding that the discovery of a North-East as well as a North-West Passage to the Indies had been attempted in vain, they resolved to pursue the track of the Portuguese and push their discoveries round Africa, for the east. In 1591, three large ships, under the command of Captain Raymond, made the first arduous

ous attempt, as it then appeared, to double the Cape ; and again, another fleet, in 1596, under Captain Wood, failed on the same errand ; but the success of neither expedition was adequate to the abilities and exertions displayed, though they shewed what might be expected from the rich productions of the Indies. At length, however, in 1600, a body of merchants and gentlemen, to the number of two hundred and sixteen, with George Earl of Cumberland at their head, solicited and obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter for carrying on a trade to the East Indies, under the appellation of the COMPANY OF MERCHANTS ADVENTURERS. And thus the foundation was laid of our oriental commerce, which is now without a parallel in the history of nations. But we are anticipating the order of events. Some of the most remarkable early East India voyages must be detailed at length.

VOYAGE OF
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,
THE FIRST
ENGLISH CIRCUMNAVIGATOR.

THE Elizabethan reign was a period of glory to this country. It was the age of heroes and adventurers, of statesmen and politicians; it produced men eminent in all the arts that give security to nations, and embellish the walks of private life; and even in navigation, though that science was still in its infancy, if we except the present, in no preceding or subsequent reign have such brilliant achievements been performed.

Of those who, by their valour and nautical skill, contributed to give an eclat to their country, and to the great princess they served, none is more distinguished than Sir Francis Drake. There appears, however, to be a kind of cloud, that frequently obscures the origin of celebrated persons, hanging over his early years. The patronage given to Drake (like the birth of Columbus, whose very name was in dispute) seems to be a matter not easily ascertained. It appears, however, that he was one of the twelve children of Mr. Edmund Drake, of Tavistock in Devonshire, and that he was born in 1545. His father being much inclined to the Protestant religion, under the reign of the cruel and bigotted Mary, was obliged

obliged to retire from his native place and settle in Kent, in order to avoid persecution. Under Elizabeth, he was made a chaplain in the royal navy; probably, as a small return for his religious and political tenets and sincerity.

Our hero was early destined for the sea, and received that kind of education which was best adapted for the object of his pursuits. Sir John Hawkins, a celebrated navigator*, who was Drake's kinsman, is said to have early taken him under his protection. At the age of eighteen, it is certain, he was purser of a ship trading to Biscay. At twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea, which then began to be visited; and at twenty-two, he was promoted to the command of the *Judith*. In that capacity, while he lay in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the Gulf of Mexico, he greatly distinguished himself, and participated in the honour of all the glorious actions of his commander, Sir John Hawkins. With him he returned to England, high in reputation, but without in the least improving his fortune. The events of this voyage seem to have given Drake a rooted enmity against the Spaniards; and this only terminated with his life.

Soon after his return home, Drake projected an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies; which was no sooner promulgated, than he had numerous volunteers ready to accompany him. In 1570, he set out, in prosecution of his schemes, with two ships; and the next year, with only one, in which he returned safe, if not with

* Sir John Hawkins has the credit, if it can be deemed any, of establishing the slave trade on the coast of Guinea.

all the advantages he expected to, derive from his labours. He made another expedition in 1572, wherein he did the enemy some mischief, and gained a considerable share of plunder; for these expeditions were chiefly predatory. While he was prosecuting these enterprizes, he had the good fortune to be assisted by an Indian nation, equally inimical with himself to the Spanish name. The prince of these people was named Pedro, to whom Drake made a fine present of a cutlass from his side, which he perceived the Indian greatly admired. Pedro, in return, gave him four large wedges of gold, which Drake threw into the common stock, with this emphatic observation, "that he thought it just, that such as bore the charge of such uncertain undertakings on his credit, should share the utmost advantages they produced." Then embarking his men, with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very considerable, he bore away for England, where he arrived in 1573.

His success in this expedition, joined to his honourable conduct towards the owners and his men, gained him a high reputation, and the application he made of his newly acquired riches a still greater. For, fitting out three stout frigates at his own expence, he sailed to Ireland; and serving as a volunteer, under Walter Earl of Essex, performed some prodigies of valour. After the death of this noble patron, he returned to England, where Sir Christopher Hatton, a mighty favourite with the queen, introduced him to her majesty, and procured him countenance and protection at court. Thus basking in the beams of royal favour, his views expanded to nobler aims than he had yet attempted; and

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he projected that expedition we are now about to relate, which will render his name immortal.

When a man once gives up the reins of imagination to views of interest or ambition, nothing will appear difficult which gives him a chance of gratifying his favourite passion. Such was the case with Drake. Having once had a prospect of the Great South Sea, he was determined that no human obstacle should deter him from endeavouring to revisit America, and from spreading his sails on that ocean. But indefatigable as he was in pursuit of this design, it was not till the year 1577, that he had collected a force sufficient to man five vessels, and, by a pretended royal authority, appeared as admiral, or as the phrase then was, general of the squadron.

The fleet, equipped for this new expedition, consisted of the Pelican, the flag ship, of one hundred tons burden; the Elizabeth, John Winter, vice-admiral; the Marygold, commanded by Captain Thomas; the Swan, of fifty tons, Captain John Chester; and the Christopher, of fifteen tons, which was committed to the charge of one of his carpenters.

These ships were partly fitted out at his own risk, and partly at the expence of others; and were manned with one hundred and sixty-four chosen seamen. They were well stored with all necessary provisions; and, at the same time, were furnished with whatever could contribute to ornament or delight; carrying expert musicians, rich furniture, and choice productions of the country. Not only the admiral's table, but the cook-room was provided with silver utensils; partly to command a higher degree of respect; and, perhaps, partly to gratify personal vanity,

which,

which, some characters, is found to be united with the meanest avarice.

This cautious commander, notwithstanding his fame had been blazoned abroad, reflecting on the difficulties to which his men had been exposed in former expeditions, which might have deterred the less resolute; or more probably, to conceal his real designs from the detection of the enemy, had engaged his crews for a voyage to Alexandria; nor was the real destination known till they reached the coast of Brasil.

Every requisite preparation having been made, Drake sailed from Plymouth on the 15th of November 1577; but soon after was forced by stress of weather into Falmouth, where he was detained till the 13th of December, when he took his final departure, with all the auspices of a favourable voyage. On the 27th of the month, the squadron anchored off Mogadore, an island about a mile from the continent of Barbary. Here having got ready the frames of his pinnaces, which he had carried out with him, he began to put them together. The Moors, observing these proceedings, sent two of their chiefs on board the admiral's ship, receiving two Englishmen as hostages. These Moors were handsomely entertained by Drake, that they might form a partial opinion of the English nation.

Next day, however, this friendly intercourse was at an end. One John Fry leaping on shore from the ship's boat, was immediately mounted on horseback, and conveyed up the country. Though this man, after being closely interrogated, was dismissed with apologies and assurances, that the natives had mistaken this squadron for the Portuguese, from whom they expected an

invasion, the admiral resolved not to protract his stay in this place. Accordingly, he departed on the last day of December; and after having taken several Spanish vessels in his way, arrived at Cape Blanco, on the 17th of January, where the English and the natives carried on a friendly traffic to their mutual satisfaction.

Having plundered and discharged his captives at Cape Blanco, the admiral proceeded for the Cape Verd Islands, and anchored at Mayo on the 27th of January 1578. It was his wish and expectation to find a supply of provisions here; but the Portuguese having been interdicted from holding any intercourse with them, he was in a great measure frustrated in his design.

They passed St. Jago on the 31st of the same month. The Portuguese having dispossessed the natives of a great part of this island, and driven them to the woods and mountains, at this period led a life of great uneasiness, being constantly exposed to the inroads and assaults of the aboriginal inhabitants, who watched every opportunity of retaliating the injuries they had received. As Drake's squadron passed by this island, three pieces of cannon were discharged at them, but without doing any execution. In revenge, however, for the insult offered, they took a Portuguese vessel laden with wines; and discharging the crew, kept only Nuno de Sylva, the pilot, a man who, from his knowledge of the American coast, was found of the most essential service in the course of the voyage.

About this time a misunderstanding broke out between the commander and a gentleman of the name of Doughty, one of his particular friends, the occasion and circumstances of which have

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been differently related; but according to the best authorities, it originated from some improper conduct of Thomas Drake, which his brother the admiral was so far from punishing or censuring, that, from the moment he was informed of it, he conceived an implacable and unreasonable resentment against the accuser. This afterwards led to a very tragical event.

Proceeding on their voyage, they came to Fogo, which has a volcano in its centre. They afterwards touched at Brava, which abounded with fruits and was extremely well watered; but having no convenient harbour, at that time was destitute of inhabitants. Here Drake taking in water, continued his voyage, and passed the equator on the 17th of February; after experiencing a succession of calms and storms. On the 5th of April, the coast of Brasil was described; and next day one of the vessels, with twenty-eight men on board, and some of the most necessary supplies, which had been missing for more than a week, fortunately joined her consorts.

During this interval, the quarrel between the admiral and Doughty seems to have been exacerbated on some trivial occasion: for Drake was determined on his destruction. As a proof of this, when the fly boat, on board of which Doughty had contemptuously been put, separated from the fleet in a storm, the admiral laid the accident to his charge; pretending that he was a wizard, and whenever there was any bad weather, he used to say that "it came out of Doughty's cap-cake."

After the storm, sailing southward, they came to Cape Joy, so named from the recovery

of the missing vessel. They found no inhabitants at this place, and soon resumed their voyage. In their course the fly boat was again lost sight of, which determined Drake to diminish the number of his ships. On the 13th of May, the admiral discovered a bay, and went out in his boat to sound it. While thus engaged, he was overtaken by a sudden storm at the distance of three leagues from his ships; and had it not been for the active and immediate exertions of Captain Thomas, who boldly sailed in to his relief, he must have been cast away. Dreadful as this storm was in the harbour, its effects were scarcely perceptible at sea. As soon as it abated, the crews discovered the situation of the commander, by some fires which had been kindled; and the parties joined on shore.

They saw no inhabitants in this place; but found two wigwams, or Indian huts, and several dried fowls, among which were some ostriches. Of the latter, they perceived many alive, none of which, however, could be caught from the swiftness with which they ran.

On the 19th they came to an anchor in a more convenient bay; where the Swan, which had been separated, having rejoined the fleet, was broken up; and the iron work preserved for any future emergencies. In their immediate vicinity was an island about a mile from the main, to which, at low water, the sea was fordable. Here they observed a body of Indians, who, by their gestures, seemed to invite the English on shore. Drake therefore dispatched his boat with bells, bugles, and other toys. The natives retired on their landing; but the English, having fixed their intended presents on a pole, retired also, to give them

them an opportunity of taking them without suspicion. On this the Indians advanced, and left some of the plumes which decorated their heads, with a bone, carved and burnished, about six inches long; and spreading their hands to the east and the west, and then lifting them up to the moon, which shone over their heads, seemed to intimate professions of amity. While they were busied in these unintelligible ceremonies, the English were marching up a hill; but, perceiving that their approach gave a new alarm, they again peaceably retired, which encouraged the natives to come forward, and open a traffic with the strangers with great ease and familiarity. One of the Indians, being presented with a cap by Drake, which he took from his own head, retired and thrust an arrow into his leg till the blood trickled down, which the admiral interpreted as an expression of gratitude for the favour, and that he would shed his blood in his service.

These people had no covering but the skins of some wild beasts, which were occasionally spread over their shoulders. Their hair was long, and rolled up with a plume of ostrich feathers, in which they stuck arrows of reeds, pointed with flints. Their bodies were painted with various figures, representing the sun and moon, with other devices, somewhat after the manner of the aborigines of our own country. They seemed totally unacquainted with navigation; and therefore had no means of crossing the water. Hence the birds on some neighbouring islands, having never known the tyranny of man, were so tame that they suffered themselves to be taken by the hand. Such an amazing number of seals appeared

ed on the coast, that the admiral gave this place the appellation of Seal Bay. On the flesh of this animal the Indians chiefly subsisted, eating it raw, as they appeared to be perfectly ignorant of all culinary arts.

From thence the fleet weighed on the 3d of June for the South Sea; and, a few days after, coming to in a small bay, the Christopher was broken up, as being too small to encounter the stormy seas through which they were to sail. Soon after, having lost sight of the Portuguese prize, they in vain waited for some time in hopes of her joining; but at last despairing of her safety, they proceeded to Port Julian, where they had the good fortune to find her. Two of the natives, of whose gigantic stature Magellan's people had given such an exaggerated account, accosted them as soon as they landed, received with pleasure whatever presents were offered them; and, by way of sportive emulation, began shewing their dexterity in darting; but soon found themselves excelled by their more experienced guests.

This friendly competition was soon at an end. Another of the natives appearing, seemed displeased with the familiarity with which his countrymen treated the strangers, and had influence enough to provoke them to hostilities. They poured a shower of arrows on the English, and wounded one of them severely. Oliver, the master gunner, on this, presented his piece which unfortunately missing fire, he was dispatched by another flight of arrows. Ali was now surprize and confusion; but Drake, who never wanted intrepidity and presence of mind in dangers, encouraging his men, directed them how to shift and avoid the arrows of the enemy. Then taking up the gun which had missed fire

he discharged it at the Indian who had killed the gunner; who, being dreadfully wounded in the belly, fled with the most hideous outcries. This so intimidated the rest, that they permitted the admiral to withdraw his wounded men; and though he remained two months on the coast, he experienced no other act of aggression.

Here they found the gibbets on which Magellan had hanged some of his mutinous crew; and perhaps the spectacle stimulated Drake to execute his long preconceived vengeance on Mr. Doughty. Of this tragical affair there are various accounts; but none, though they palliate the admiral's conduct, that can wipe away the stain of deliberate cruelty. With a mockery of the principles of justice, while he observed some of its least important forms, he condemned to death a gentleman who had been his friend, and who had followed his fortunes by his particular solicitations. The mock tribunal, which had been instituted by Drake, and over which he presided himself, confirmed the sentence: but impartial history must acquit Doughty of any criminal charge. Sentence being passed, he was allowed a day's respite to settle his affairs, both temporal and eternal: his implacable enemy, it is even said, received the communion with him, and with an hypocritical show of regard, assured him of his prayers. The consciousness of innocence seems to have supported this ill-fated gentleman: he broke out into no invectives against his prejudiced judges; he preserved a serenity of countenance and mind; recommended his friends to the candour of the admiral; and submitted to death with a heroic constancy and fortitude. He suffered decapitation on the 2d of July 1578,

and has left an eternal stain on the memory of Drake.

This execution over, the admiral, by plausible harangues and excuses, endeavoured to justify his conduct; but though his crews, who did not dare to murmur, might acquiesce in his decision, we will not tire our readers with the flimsy arguments he used. From an impartial review of the whole business, as far as existing authorities would enable us to judge, we have delivered our opinion without reserve. Cruelty we abhor, and not the less so for wearing the mask of justice.

The fleet being now reduced to three ships, by the *Marygold* having separated in a storm, which compelled the captain to make the best of his way to England, the admiral left Port St. Julian, and entered the Straights of Magellan on the 20th of August. In this intricate and dangerous navigation, they discovered an island, to which they gave the name of Elizabeth, in honour of the queen. Though this passage sometimes seemed entirely landlocked, by capes and promontories, they effected it in a shorter space of time than has ever been done by any succeeding navigator.

Magellan had observed many harbours here; but remarked that they were without soundings. This does not appear to be actually the case. The real danger arises from the tides and gales continually meeting in contrary directions. The harbours are not bad; and the land, on both sides, rises into innumerable mountains, the tops of which are encircled with clouds and vapours, which condensing, fall in snow, and increase the eternal loads of ice. The vallies,

however, are not without some appearance of verdure and fertility.

Anchoring in a bay near Cape Forward, in the Straights, Drake observed a canoe, with several of the natives in it. This vessel, to his astonishment, he found was constructed wholly of bark, sewed together with thongs and filaments of seal's skins, so compactly executed, that little water could penetrate. The people appeared well formed, and were painted like those in the vicinity of Port St. Julian. On the shore they had erected a hut with poles, covered with skins; and all their necessary utensils were formed of bark. Among these natives, a share of sagacity and indefatigable industry supplied the place of such manufactures, or natural productions, as, in more civilized countries, are deemed indispensibly necessary for the comforts of life. Though wholly strangers to iron and its use, they substituted the shell of a muscle found on the coasts in its stead. This they ground on a stone to an edge so firm and solid, that neither wood nor stone could resist it; and with these instruments they performed all their mechanical operations.

On the 6th of September, after a passage of only sixteen days, Drake entered the Great South Sea, intending to hold on his course towards the equinoctial line.

But the very next day, after observing an eclipse of the moon, the fleet was overtaken by such a violent storm, that they were wholly at the mercy of the winds and waves, which, after beating them about for a month in the greatest distress, left them at last two hundred leagues out of their course, in latitude 55 south.

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Here they discovered a number of islands; and coming to an anchor near one of them, found a very desirable supply of water and vegetables. A few Indians, the inhabitants, readily trafficked with the English; and exchanged provisions for the usual baubles most valuable in the eyes of uncultivated nations.

Departing from these shores, another storm arose, and drove them to the very extremity of the South American coast, where they saw, for the first time, the conflux of the western and southern oceans; and at length enjoyed the felicity of sailing on a calm and unruffled sea, to which they had been so long strangers.

Drake now directed his course for 30 deg. of south latitude, steering for the rendezvous appointed in case of separation of his little fleet; and, in his way, touched at certain islands, where he found a supply of fowls. When he arrived at the wished-for latitude, he found neither ships nor convenient harbours: he therefore advanced to Macao, where the natives, making a show of friendship, and presenting the English with two sheep and fruits, and pointing to the watering place, the latter repaired there next day with their casks. The Indians, probably mistaking their visitors for Spaniards, by whom they had been cruelly used, laid an ambush, and killed two of the boat's crew; who were most advanced; and poured such a shower of arrows into the boat, that not one escaped unwounded. The admiral himself received an arrow under his eye while, owing to the unfavourable situation of the English, and the elements warring against them, not one of the natives was either killed or wounded in this conflict.

Without

Without delay they proceeded for St. Philip's bay, where the boat's crew having been sent on shore for discoveries, returned with an Indian prisoner, of graceful form and complacent behaviour. This man, after being well entertained, was again set on shore, and by his influence with his countrymen, a traffic commenced between them and the English. The same Indian afterwards was engaged as pilot, to conduct the fleet to the harbour of Val Parizo, near St. Jago, where the adventurers were liberally supplied with wine and provisions from the store houses; and besides, had the good fortune to capture a ship with sixty-thousand pesos of gold on board, exclusive of a valuable lading of wines. At first the Spaniards took them for their friends, and invited them to partake of their good cheer; but soon perceiving their mistake, instead of endeavouring to defend their property, the townsmen fled; while Drake found so much plunder in the place, as employed his party three days to carry it off.

The Indian being conveyed to his native shore and well rewarded, Drake next turned his attention to the building of a pinnace, to run up creeks and harbours; and for this purpose, fixed on a bay near Coquimbo. On arriving here, one hundred Spaniards on horseback came out to meet them: all the English prudently retired, save one, who obstinately persisted in staying on shore; and after a desperate defence, being slain by the Spaniards, his head was struck off in the sight of his countrymen, and displayed in insulting triumph.

This harbour being found unsafe, Drake discovered another bay, where, having erected his pinnace, he failed to rejoin his companions; but
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was forced back by contrary winds. Landing afterwards at a port called Sarcipaxa, they discovered a Spaniard asleep, with bars of silver, to the amount of four thousand ducats, lying by him; which treasure they secured without disturbing the repose of its guardian.

The next exploit on this coast was unloading eight Peruvian sheep of their burdens of silver, each animal carrying about a hundred weight of that metal in leather bags, thrown across their backs. These sheep are the most valuable animals of the country; they not only supply food and raiment, but are the universal carriers over rocks and mountains, where no other beast could travel.

Proceeding farther on, the English saw several Indian towns, the natives visited them in a new and extraordinary marine conveyance. This was two seals skins blown up with wind, on which the Indian seated himself, and then directed with much adroitness. Glass and toys found a ready exchange for the commodities of the country, and even some of the Spanish settlers appear to have carried on a kind of contraband trade with the English.

On the 7th of February 1579, they arrived at Arica, where they found three small vessels, on board of which were fifty-seven ingots of silver, each weighing about twenty pounds. The crews being all on shore, the English made an easy prize of the treasure; but though the town promised abundance of wealth, Drake did not venture to attack it, judging his numbers insufficient for the enterprise. He therefore sailed for Chili; and in his way boarded a vessel laden with linen and clothes, from which he took

out

out such articles as he thought necessary, and then suffered her to depart.

An express had been dispatched from Arica, with news that Drake was on the coast, which arriving two hours before he reached the port, the master of a ship, that had three hundred thousand pesos on board, threw it into the sea, and escaped with his crew on shore. Of this circumstance, and that he was discovered, and the natives on their guard, he was apprized by an Indian.

The admiral, thus disappointed in his hopes of making the place by surprize, immediately sailed for Lima.

Here he found a number of Spanish ships in the harbour, which made no resistance, though some of them were of considerable force, and most of them richly laden. Had any opposition been attempted, it must have brought destruction on Drake, to cope with such unequal numbers; but the Spaniards being taken by surprize, and intimidated by the extraordinary boldness of this adventurer, lost all their energies, and tamely saw him plunder their property.

But his success spurred him on to still greater attempts: being informed that the rich ship, the Cacafuego, had sailed three days before, to Paita, he resolved to pursue her; but finding that she had actually proceeded to Panama, he altered his course accordingly, and promised that the first man who spied her should be presented with his own gold chain, which reward was gained by his brother John. On the first of March they came up with this vessel, which struck after a slight resistance; when they found such a quantity of treasure, as employed them till the 6th in transporting on board the admiral's squadron.

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We are told, she contained an immense quantity of jewels, thirteen chests of money, eighty pounds of gold, and wrought plate to a great amount, exclusive of six tons of unrefined silver.

According to a Spanish writer, after the departure of the English for Lima, the governor fitted out three ships with cannon and two hundred men, which he ordered to pursue Drake; but that the time necessary for equipping them gave the English an opportunity of falling in with the Cacafuego, the captain of which, seeing a ship in full sail after him, supposed she might be dispatched with some intelligence for him, and therefore lay to, to wait; nor did he discover his mistake, till it was too late to attempt an escape; and for defence he was not properly prepared, having no suspicion of an enemy to encounter.

The commander having dismissed the Spaniards, after exonerating them of their treasure, shaped his course to the westward; while the three Spanish ships, in pursuit of him, having missed him in the expected route, failed with a view of intercepting him at the Straights of Magellan. But fortune still favoured Drake; for in his way he fell in with a ship from the West Indies, laden with China ware, silks, and cottons, and other oriental productions.

The owner being on board, wished to ransom the vessel, by presenting the admiral with a falcon of solid gold, having an emerald of extraordinary size and beauty on the breast, and a gold cup. To this Drake added four chests of porcelain, and then dismissed them.

Having put into a harbour on a small island, a coasting vessel was perceived passing by. Being brought

brought to, the admiral took out of her a quantity of Sarsaparilla, butter, and other goods. After refitting his own ship, and laying in wood and water, he again put to sea on the 26th of March. In the beginning of April, they gave chase to a ship which they had spied in the evening, and came up with her in the morning, before her crew was alarmed. From this vessel they supplied themselves with bale goods to a great amount. Among the passengers was Don Francisco Xarate, who was charged with letters from the court of Spain to the governor of the Philippines, and had a set of sea-charts in his possession, which were very useful to the captors. A Spanish pilot was likewise taken out and detained, who conducted them safe to Anguatulco on the 13th of April.

As soon as they landed at this port, the admiral marched his men directly to the town, where the chief magistrates were then sitting in judgement on some Indians accused of a conspiracy, for setting fire to the place. The fate of these wretches would have been fixed, had not the English so opportunely arrived, and made both the judges and the criminals alike their prisoners, and conducted them in triumph to the commander's ship.

The judge was now compelled to send a written order to the governor to surrender the town, from which the English brought away a very considerable quantity of valuable plunder; so that by this time the ships were almost full of treasure.

Fortune having so far befriended these lucky adventurers, they began to reflect that they had a fickle goddess to depend on; and being equally

fearful of losing, as they were eager to enjoy what, with so much labour and risk, they had obtained, their thoughts were turned on their native land. Drake represented the necessity of first finding a convenient harbour, wherein they might refit; and expatiated on the honour, as well as the convenience, of discovering a nearer and a new passage to Europe, which he did not deem impracticable.

His influence and authority prevailed over the secret wishes of individuals, and they accordingly sailed into a port in the isle of Canes, where, taking in wood and water, they prepared to explore a north-west passage; but after sailing to latitude 43, the cold proved so intolerable to persons who had been so long habituated to a warmer climate, that the admiral was obliged to relinquish his project, and alter his course.

This disappointment, however, did not discourage Drake. He now resolved to execute his original design of steering for the Moluccas, and returning by the Cape of Good Hope. In pursuance of this intention, they spread their sails to the northern winds, and on the 17th of June anchored in a commodious harbour in latitude 38 deg. 30 min. north.

Next day, a conoe navigated by a single person, approached the ships, who seemed to make a kind of oration. He repeated his visits a second and a third time, and, at the conclusion of his last harangue, made a present of a crown of black feathers, and a basket filled with a kind of herb for which he was averse to receive any return.

It was not, however, till the third day that the admiral ventured to bring his ships close to the friendly shore to refit. On landing, the English

still questioning the sincerity of the natives, raised a fortification of earth, fenced with palisadoes, to secure the lading; and while this work was proceeding, the Indians viewed their progress with admiration, but without shewing the least jealousy. The admiral at length, convinced of their sincerity, having prevailed on them to lay aside their bows and arrows, presented them with some linen, and other articles, more curious though less valuable, which the natives received with the utmost demonstrations of gratitude.

Two days afterwards, their numbers being greatly increased, they stationed themselves on the top of a hill, and drawing the attention of the English by their voices and gestures, gave them the first idea that they meant to pay them a kind of religious veneration, according to the customs of the country. In this opinion Drake and his attendants were confirmed, by a long oration delivered by one of the Indians, at the end of which all his countrymen bowed their heads, and repeated something like the syllable Oh, as expressive of their approbation. Then leaving their bows and arrows, they were conducted to the tents, and kindly received by the commander; while the women, who still remained at a distance, to survey the passing scene, began to tear themselves with their nails and to fall prostrate on the ground, in token of reverence.

Soon after, two ambassadors arrived from the king, who demanded certain tokens of peace, which being complied with, his majesty paid a visit to the settlement. A person preceded him, bearing a mace of black wood, ornamented with chains of horn or bone, which are distinctive of rank among them. The monarch came next,

apparelled in skins, and wearing a beautiful crown of plumes curiously intermixed. A hundred very personable men served for his guard, who were habited in a nearly similar manner with the monarch; and the common people carried baskets of roots and fish.

Though this procession and their whole manner indicated nothing but peace, the admiral took the precaution of drawing up his men in order; while they approached; and when they stopped, the sceptre-bearer began a kind of song and dance, in which his countrymen joined; while the women silently accompanied them in the gestive exercise.

Every look, every gesture being calculated to remove suspicion of hostile intentions, they were at last admitted into the camp, where the dance and song were repeated; and after another harangue, the purport of which seemed to be, to evince the desire the sovereign had to confer his kingdom on Drake, he was immediately crowned and invested with all the insignia of royalty; after which he was saluted with the title of high, or king. These ceremonies being ended, the admiral now transferred his sovereignty to Elizabeth, by taking possession in her name; while the common people tore their flesh in such a manner as to affect the feelings of the English. This voluntary laceration of the body, which has been practised among various savage nations, is meant to express the highest proof of respect and submission, and in some places it is used to demonstrate excess of grief.

Visits of friendship were repeated by the natives; and in return for the confidence and generosity they displayed, Drake and some of his

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men made an excursion up the country; which they found naturally fertile, and well stocked with deer, and an animal of the rabbit kind. The habitations were holes dug to a convenient depth, and raised with rafters meeting in the centre. The fire was kindled in the middle of the hut, and no aperture being left for the smoke, it escaped by the door. Rushes supplied these simple people for beds. The women wore a kind of petticoat formed of bullrushes; but the men in general were perfectly naked. All the useful arts, all the delicacies of life seemed to be unknown among them: they even caught fish with their hands; being either ignorant of the use of nets, or not wanting them, so dexterous had habit rendered them in seizing the finny race with their hands.

Though the acquisition of this territory was only valuable to Drake, by furnishing him with provisions and a safe resting place, and could not be regarded as of much utility to his country; yet he seems to have plumed himself on the grant, and before his departure, caused the circumstances of the resignation to be engraven on a brass plate, and fixed up as a memorial of the transaction.

When the strangers were about to depart, the friendly natives expressed the liveliest sorrow. They kept them as long as possible in view from the hills, and lighted up fires, as if intended for sacrifices, which the English construed into the last and greatest mark of respect that could be paid them. Vanity, however, might have a share in some of these conclusions: however, when it is considered, with what esteem, verging on adoration, the Spaniards were first received by

the Americans, we may in general give implicit credit to the account of the reception of our countrymen here. The admiral gave these acquired dominions the appellation of New Albion, from the white cliffs that environed the coasts.

It was on the 23d of July that they quitted these shores, and after touching at some of the neighbouring islands, it was resolved, in a general consultation, to sail for the Moluccas. Steering westerly, they did not come in sight of land till the 30th of September, when they discovered some islands in latitude 20 north, the inhabitants of which at first came peaceably to exchange provisions for European commodities; but growing insolent from the mildness with which they were treated, Drake thought proper to give them an idea of his power, by ordering a discharge of his ordnance, which, without injuring any one, checked the progress of rude aggression.

On the 3d of November, our adventurers had the pleasure to espy the Moluccas, and their intention was to touch at Teridore. As they coasted along the island of Mutua, the viceroy of the King of Ternate paid them a visit; and recommended an application to his master for supplies, and not to the Portuguese, who were at enmity with him. This suggestion prevailed on the admiral to adopt the scheme, and he anchored before Ternate. Three large barges, in which was the viceroy, accompanied by several of the principal nobles, came out to conduct the vessel safe into port. The king likewise, after receiving a present of a velvet cloak in token of amity, came in great state, and was received under the discharge of cannon, while the music welcomed his approach. In testimony of his approbation, he

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invited the performers on board his own barge. Thus it appears, that it is not only among polished nations, that superior respect is paid to those who gratify the sense, rather than to those who are capable of improving the mind.

This prince had guards who were acquainted with the use of fire arms, though javelins, and bows and arrows were their principal weapons. He is described as a person of a majestic mien and graceful aspect. His attendants were dressed in cottons and calicoes, and some of them had a venerable appearance. When the ship came to anchor, the king withdrew, having first given permission to his subjects to traffic with the strangers, and intimated that he should return in the space of two days. This promise, however, he did not perform, but sent his brother with an excuse. Drake having sent some gentlemen on shore, they were conducted to the palace, and being introduced to court, found nearly one thousand people assembled. On each side of the exterior gate waited four interpreters of other countries. Among the courtiers were sixty privy counsellors. When his majesty appeared, he was splendidly dressed in cloth of gold, and his hair was interwoven with golden ringlets: on his fingers he wore a profusion of diamond rings; and a chain of gold encircled his neck. Near his chair, stood a page with a fan set with sapphires, which he used to cool the air. In short, his majesty displayed abundant state, and received the English with marks of honour and respect. While the admiral lay here, a Chinese, who reported himself to be descended from the imperial race, came on board. He acknowledged that he had been accused of some capital crime in his own

own country, and being unable to invalidate the charge by evidence, had been sentenced to exile; the term of which was to be extended till he could return with some intelligence that might be honourable or advantageous to the empire. After an absence of three years, the fame of Drake brought him from Tidore, in order to converse with a person who had visited so many countries. The English commander pitying his condition, and perhaps a little vain of the opportunity which was given him of spreading his reputation, ordered one of the company to recite twice over, those occurrences which were most remarkable in the course of the voyage. The exile having heard the detail, thanked Heaven that he had met with so much information; and departed well satisfied, that he should be honourably received in China, where he wished to persuade the admiral to accompany him.

Having shipped between four and five tons of cloves, they sailed from Ternate on the 9th of November, and bending to the southward, put into an uninhabited island, which was pleasant and full of woods, and abounded in that curious insect, the fire-fly. Here they refitted the ships, a task now become absolutely necessary, and refreshed themselves with fruits and tortoises.

On this island they had the inhumanity to leave a male and female negro, whom they had taken out of one of the Spanish prizes. This poor girl was about fifteen years of age, and had become pregnant by Drake or one of his company. These unfortunate beings they contrived to send up the country on some pretended errand, and weighing anchor while they were gone, left them to their fate. It is impossible to pass over

an incident of this kind without reprobating such unfeeling conduct, either in our own countrymen or foreigners. It is our wish to mend, not to corrupt the heart; and whenever our province obliges us to give recitals or anecdotes disgraceful to human nature, it shall be our study to reprehend, while we record.

In his course Drake fell in with a number of islands, whose names are not preserved; and just when he thought himself disentangled from the dangers of such a navigation, the ship struck on a hidden rock in the night. This shock was felt the more severely, as it was little expected. When the crew perceived their situation, murmurs began to arise among them; and the commander was exposed to some virulent invectives. Fletcher, the chaplain, in particular, tartly observed, that the men were likely to suffer for the crimes of their captain; a reflection which seemed to wound Drake severely; but knowing this was not a time to shew his resentment, he dissembled his rage, and strove to conciliate the minds of his people, by exerting himself to the utmost to surmount the danger. As the vessel was not bulged, he endeavoured to lighten her, by causing the guns and watercasks to be thrown overboard, and having recourse to the pump, found the water did not gain upon them. He now wished to bring the ship to an anchor; but the rock rising perpendicularly in the middle of the sea, he could find no place proper to fix one. This difficulty, however, he endeavoured to conceal, lest it should dispirit others; but after sticking fast for twenty-four hours, he began to lose all hopes of deliverance; and exhorted his men to forget all animosities, and to prepare for the

the worst event. While they remained in this deplorable situation, the chaplain administered the sacrament to them all, and thus confirmed their reconciliation.

But Providence yet favoured Drake. When every ray of hope was gone, the wind suddenly shifted, and blowing fresh from a different quarter, heaved the ship off the rock, without any very considerable damage.

Thus liberated from their perilous situation, they proceeded with slow circumspection till they reached the island of Baratene, where they repaired the damage, and were hospitably received by the prince and his people. They found the natives at once warlike, social and happy among themselves, as well as indulgent to strangers.

Departing from thence, they proceeded to Java, where the king entertained Drake on shore, and gave him liberty to furnish himself with whatever supplies his dominions afforded. Having now prepared for the farther prosecution of his voyage, Drake had the mortification to find his men mutinous for an immediate return home, while it seems his own views were different.

Forced from imminent danger, the admiral now thought he might suffer his dormant resentment against Fletcher, the chaplain, to appear. On pretence of his spiriting up the crew to opposition, he caused him to be fastened with a chain by one of his legs in the fore-castle of the ship. Amidst his vengeance, as we have seen in the case of Doughty, he always preserved some forms of external justice. After the divine was secured, he called the company together, and expatiating on his crime, he thus addressed him: "Francis Fletcher, I do hereby excommunicate thee out

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" of the church of God, and from all the benefits and graces thereof, and I renounce thee to the devil and all his angels." After this curious form, which would have better suited the character of a monk, he charged Fletcher, on pain of death, not once to come before the mast, and swore if he did, that he should be hanged. Not satisfied with this, he order a posey to be written and bound round his arm, containing these words, " Francis Fletcher, the falsest knave that liveth," and assured him that it would be capital to tear it off.

After all, the admiral found himself compelled to comply with the desires of his people, and steering for the Cape of Good Hope, and doubling it on the 15th of June, arrived at Sierra Leona, without experiencing any of those dangers which had been generally supposed to attend this navigation, and which it was found the Portuguese had exaggerated to promote their own interest.

After staying two days at Sierra Leona, they again spread their sails to favouring gales; and, after a prosperous voyage, fell in with the Island of Ferrara on the 11th of September, and from thence proceeded in a direct course for England, with impatience to behold their native land.

They entered Plymouth harbour on Monday September 26, 1580; but according to their calculation it was on Sunday. The losing or gaining of a day, according to the course steered in the circumnavigation of the globe, is now sufficiently accounted for. Drake had spent two years, ten months, and a few days in this novel undertaking; and had the felicity of returning with

with immense riches, and a fame the most exalted for his enterprize.

The news of his arrival was soon blazoned through the kingdom, and as it was an age in which heroic deeds challenged admiration and regard, his reputation was raised to a very high pitch; and such as affected to distinguish themselves as the patrons of arms and arts, were eager to shew him testimonies of their favour.

It could not however be expected, that so bold an enterprize, attended with such unbounded applause, should pass without the customary tax of censure, and that some should be found anxious to depreciate his labours. Such gave out, that his surrounding the globe served only to amuse common minds, and that the main business he had in view was plunder, of which they said he had obtained enough to exempt the nation from taxes for seven years; that as this nation was not actually at war with Spain, it was dangerous to countenance such an adventurer, since the public might be obliged to pay dear for his captures; that our merchants had much property in Spain, and that it was reasonable to fear, that a confiscation might take place equivalent to his depreciations. These objections originating as much from envy as patriotism, made an impression on many. The Spanish ambassador also attacked Drake by spirited memorials, in which he was styled "the Master Thief of the unknown World."

The friends and patrons of the admiral, however, finding themselves wounded through his sides, took ample pains to vindicate his conduct, alleging in his behalf, that he had the queen's commission to justify his making reprisals; that

the more wealth he had brought home, the more the nation was indebted to him; that the Spaniards by their injuries had provoked this aggression; and that even in case of confiscation, means of retaliation might be found, or the Indian treasure would be an equivalent.

Such were the reasonings on both sides, while matters remained in suspense; for the queen prudently seemed to listen to contending sentiments, before she divulged her own.

In this situation of uncertainty things remained for a considerable time; during which it is highly probable Drake felt much anxiety, lest after all his toils abroad, he might be declared a pirate at home. There is, however, reason to believe that Elizabeth delayed a disclosure of her sentiments from motives of true policy, that she might see what effect this transaction might have on the court of Spain; and to prevent an actual rupture, she even consented to part with some small sums to Mendoza, the Spanish agent.

At last, when matters were sufficiently ripe for an avowal, the queen threw off the veil at once; and notice having been given of her intention, on the 4th of April, 1581, she went on board the admiral's ship at Deptford, where she was magnificently entertained; and after dinner, was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Drake, telling him, at the same time, that his actions did him more honour than his title. A prodigious crowd attended her majesty on this occasion, so that the bridge from the shore to the ship was broken down by the time she got on board, and two hundred persons were precipitated into the Thames, of which not one was

lost or hurt; which the queen ascribed to the good fortune of the admiral.

After this public approbation of the sovereign, all ranks became zealous to testify their congratulations; and Sir Francis Drake took for his device the terraqueous globe, and to his usual motto *DIVINO AUXILIO*, added *TU PRIMUS CIRCUMDEDISTI ME*.

His ship was preserved many years at Deptford as a singular curiosity; and when almost entirely decayed, a chair was made out of its materials and presented to the University of Oxford, where it is still to be seen.

With regard to the quantity of treasure obtained in this successful attempt, a Spanish writer, Lopez Vaz, has thus stated it. He says that Drake carried from the coast of Peru eight hundred and sixty-six thousand pesos of silver, equal to eight hundred and sixty-six quintals, every quintal containing one hundred weight, and amounting in the whole to one million, one hundred and thirty-nine thousand two hundred ducats. He also obtained one hundred thousand pesos of gold, equal to fifteen thousand ducats, exclusive of unregistered gold and silver, pearls, precious stones, and coined money, besides merchandise of immense value.

According to this relation, the silver amounted to two hundred and fifty-nine thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, and the gold to forty-eight thousand. But other accounts make the value of the cargo brought home in Drake's ship equivalent to eight hundred thousand pounds; though only eighty thousand were divided among the crew. With regard to the distribution of

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the rest we pretend not to judge; but it is fair to conclude, with the old maxim, that whoever brings money brings a welcome with him.

After the death of Magellan, the circumnavigation of the globe had been several times attempted, but in vain. Loss and disaster prevented the most enterprising from finally succeeding. Drake therefore deserves a high degree of honour for his achievement; nor is his praise thus far disputed by rival nations.

Having accompanied this hero round the world, we will not disappoint the inquisitive reader, by dropping the curtain on his future labours. As we began with his life, we shall finish with his death.

In 1585, he was again called into action, as commander in chief on an expedition to the West Indies; when St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine were taken. Two years after, he was sent to Lisbon, but receiving information that the Spaniards were assembling a fleet at Cadiz, on purpose to invade England, he sailed into the enemy's port, and burned ten thousand tons of shipping, exclusive of all their warlike stores; a blow which was severely felt by that nation.

Repeated successes gave rise to proportionate honours. In 1588, he was advanced to be vice-admiral under Lord Effingham Howard, and distinguished himself against the Spanish Armada, in such a manner as will ever challenge admiration. Here general history records the triumphs of our country, and we will not enter into the details, however glorious.

The very name of Drake was now become formidable to the Spaniards, and the queen finding

him possessed of a spirit in some measure congenial to her own, soon after dispatched him with a squadron destined to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. Sir John Norris and the Earl of Essex were also partners in this undertaking. Arriving at Panicha, a little town in Portugal, it was taken and put into the possession of Don Antonio, the pretender to the kingdom. From thence Norris marched to Lisbon without opposition, and encamping before it, took the suburbs of St. Catharine; but being disappointed in the expectation of Drake's supporting them in the Tagus, it was resolved in a council of war to retire. This resolution was taken, because there was little appearance that the Portuguese were inclined to put themselves under a new master. The army marching towards the mouth of the Tagus, met Drake, who proved the impossibility of an earlier support. He had taken the town of Cascaes, where the English blew up the castle, and seized sixty vessels laden with corn and all manner of naval stores belonging to the Hanse towns.

This expedition did some damage to the King of Spain, but was of little service to Elizabeth. Above six thousand men were lost; and the only recompence was an insignificant booty, which by no means repaid the expences of equipment.

The sun of glory, which had hitherto shone in full lustre on Sir Francis Drake, seemed now verging to a decline. Sir John Norris charged to his want of co-operation the failure of the enterprise; and perhaps he was ill qualified to act in concert with any one. His bold and original aims were only to be prosecuted successfully by himself.

Hawkins and Drake, however, seemed resolved

not to abandon their design of distressing Spain, and enriching themselves. They set about equipping a large fleet, destined to act in the West Indies; but the Spaniards hearing of their intentions, threatened another invasion, which delayed the adventurers till the Plata fleet, on which they had a design, arrived in safety, exclusive of one ship, which the queen advised them to attack in Puerto Rico.

After an ill-concerted attack on the Canaries, in which they miscarried, the fleet arrived on the 12th of November before Puerto Rico, and the officers having been convened in a council of war, an assault on the shipping in the harbour was resolved on. No impression could be made on the fortifications; and the English were obliged to abandon the design. While they lay here, Sir John Hawkins died of a disorder; and the very same evening, while the officers were at supper, a cannon ball entering the cabin, killed Sir Nicholas Clifford, and mortally wounded another gentleman, and carried away the stool on which Sir Francis Drake sat, just as he was drinking success to the attack. Thus fortune now for the last time befriended him.

After committing various depredations, they proceeded on their grand design; and landing the soldiers, who were to cross the isthmus to Panama, after immense toil and fatigue, they had the mortification to find this too impracticable. "And now," says Fuller in quaint but energetic language, "began the discontent of Sir Francis Drake to feed upon him. He saw all the good he had done in his voyage, consisted in the evil he had done to Spain, whereof he could present but small visible fruits in England. These apprehensions accompanying, if not causing the

“disease of the flux, wrought his sudden death;
 “and sickness did not so much untie his clothes
 “as sorrow did rend at once the robe of his
 “mortality afunder. He lived by the sea, died
 “on it, and was buried in it. And thus,” adds
 he, “we see how great spirits, having mounted
 “to the highest pitch of performance, afterwards
 “strain and break their credit in striving to go
 “beyond it.”

Disappointments such as Drake had experienced were not easily endured by a man habituated to success. He had perseverance and fortitude in danger; but his character was not without its defects.

Impatient of control, avaricious and despotic, he was rather a great, than an amiable, man. Untinctured with the liberal arts, his mind yielded not to those weaknesses which are an honour to our kind; and he lived without seeming to enjoy life, unless when successful enterprise shed the casual gleam of satisfaction.

But Drake is only to be judged as a navigator and a hero. In the former quality he had no competitor in his own age; nor have modern times produced many superior to him. He passed the Straights of Magellan in the shortest period ever yet done: he sailed on an unknown sea, guided by his own judgment rather than by the assistance of others; for he could not have the benefit of charts, nor the guidance of any thing but the compass, whose variation not being well understood, created considerable difficulties.

Yet Drake surmounted every obstacle, and stands on record as one of the most able mariners that ever plowed the ocean. He died without issue near the town of Nombre de Dios, January 28, 1596.

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VOYAGES OF
CAPTAIN THOMAS CAVENDISH,
THE SECOND
ENGLISH CIRCUMNAVIGATOR.

THE fame and successes of Drake stimulated adventure; and the age was propitious to the display of martial talents. The nations of Europe were not yet become sufficiently civilized to carry on war on principles which increase its devastation, but lessen its horrors. Private adventurers undertook to avenge the public cause, by ravaging the possessions of the enemy, though individuals; and that honourable and just distinction which separates between the ambition of sovereigns, who provoked hostilities, and the passive subjects who were involuntary victims of their rulers' crimes, had not yet obtained its discriminating character.

While Elizabeth burned to retaliate the injuries she had received from Spain, her subjects, prompted by avarice, forwarded her views. This was a cheap mode of warfare; but it was little compatible with that humane spirit which now prevails, that gives security to private property; that teaches to spare the individual; and aims at nothing more than humbling the government.

Among these adventurers, whom the reign of Elizabeth produced, Thomas Cavendish, of Trimly, in the County of Suffolk, Esq. was remarkably

ably distinguished. He was a man of an ancient and honourable family; but being left young in the possession of an ample estate, by fashionable extravagances he soon embarrassed his affairs; and turned his thoughts to sea, to mend his shattered fortune. At an early period of his life, he converted part of his property into money, and equipped a large ship, as was then supposed, of one hundred and twenty tons burden, and gave her the name of the Tiger. In this vessel he accompanied Sir Robert Grenville to Virginia in 1585, and ran through a series of difficulties with little emolument to himself. But he was learning a profession by which he wished to make himself eminent; and the ill success of a first attempt only served to inspire him with more determined resolution to persevere.

In this voyage he had got a sight of the Spanish West Indies, and conversed with some of the associates of Sir Francis Drake. From their information, he formed the design of undertaking a voyage of the same nature, hoping at once to retrieve his own affairs, and to emulate the glory of that distinguished commander.

He accordingly disposed of a considerable part of his remaining estate, to raise the necessary supplies; and used so much assiduity, that in the space of eight months his little squadron was fit for sea. It consisted of the Desire, his flag ship, of one hundred and forty tons; the Content, of about sixty tons; and a bark of forty tons, called the High Gallant. This fleet he supplied with provisions for two years, and manned it with one hundred and twenty-six sailors, officers included; some of whom had followed

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the fortunes of Drake, and the rest were men of approved courage and experience.

Having procured her majesty's commission, he left London on the 10th of July 1586, and embarking at Harwich, on board the *Desire*, arrived at Plymouth on the 18th ; and, three days after, failed on his intended voyage.

Off Cape Finisterre he fell in with five sail of Biscayners, with which he engaged for several hours ; but night put an end to the fight, without any material damage on either side. On the 26th of August, he came to an anchor at Sierra Leona, having run nearly one thousand leagues in thirty-six days.

Here he received information that a Portuguese ship lay within the harbour, on which he dispatched the *High Gallant* to seize her ; but owing to the difficulties of the navigation, and being unprovided with a pilot, this scheme was rendered abortive. Next day, however, several of the crew landing, made themselves agreeable to the Negroes, on purpose to gain intelligence, and in their return captured a Portuguese, who was carried on board. From him they learned, that the passage by sea to the port was extremely difficult ; but the admiral landing with seventy men, marched thither, and set several houses on fire. The inhabitants had fled on the first surprize ; but hanging on the retreat of the English, assailed them with poisoned arrows from the woods and hiding places, and wounded several. Notwithstanding this, the English landed several times, and though they did not wholly escape danger, being now on their guard, the enemy made little impression on them.

They

They next touched at the Cape Verd Islands, where they found a Negro town but no provisions. The houses were delightfully furrounded with plantain trees, and the whole island appeared woody. Leaving the Cape Verd Islands, they steered for the Brasils, where they arrived on the 1st of November, and anchored between St. Sebastian and the mainland. Here they remained three weeks employed in building their pinnace; and, during this interval, they fell in with a canoe from Rio Janeiro to St. Vincent, on board of which was a Portuguese that had formerly been acquainted with the master of the admiral's ship, on which account they were suffered to proceed to their destination.

On the 17th of December they arrived at Port Desire, in the vicinity of which they found abundance of seals and sea-fowl. As the harbour was judged convenient for repairing their vessels, the admiral determined to take the opportunity; and to continue here for some time. While thus resting in security, a man and a boy, who had gone ashore, were attacked and dangerously wounded by a discharge of Indian arrows; but the assailants, though amounting to sixty in number, fled at the approach of Cavendish and twenty of his men.

Leaving Port Desire on the 28th of December, they stood for the Straights of Magellan, taking shelter under a cape, in latitude 52 deg. 45 min. south, from a dreadful storm. In their passage they captured a Spanish ship, and on the 9th of January 1587, they came to King Philip's City, which had been built by the Spaniards to command the Straights, and was furnished with four forts.

This

This city, says Mr. Prettie, the historian of the voyage, was very commodiously situated for wood and water ; but except muscles and limpets, and occasionally a deer, which descended from the mountains to drink, no other provisions were to be had. During two years that the settlement was kept up, every attempt to raise corn and vegetables proved abortive, while the Indians were vigilant to increase the calamity. The stores being exhausted, and the greatest part of the settlers dead, the few survivors had been obliged to abandon the town in quest of food ; and at the time Cavendish touched here, nothing but desolation and putrid carcases were to be seen. Of four hundred persons, it appears that only twenty-three survived to reach the River La Plata.

From Port Famine, as the admiral justly named this place, they sailed to Cape Forward, and sending a boat up a river, which washed a campaign country, they discovered certain savages, whose manners indicated them to be cannibals. These people endeavoured to lure the English farther up the river ; but the admiral seeing their aim, ordered his men to fire on them, which dispersed them with some loss. Cavendish met with a number of harbours in passing through the Straights, the whole length of which he computed at ninety leagues.

The Great South Sea, the scene of their wishes, received them on the 24th of February, and they began to entertain hopes that the principal dangers of their navigation were at an end. However, a severe storm overtook them on the 1st of March, by which the High Gallant was separated from the rest of the squadron, and in imminent

ment danger of being lost. On the 15th, the ships had the good fortune to join, after various calamities, at Mocha, in 38 deg. south, where the natives, taking the crew for Spaniards, to whom they bore an implacable resentment, attacked them as soon as they landed. These Indians are described as fierce and warlike; and though their country is said to abound with gold, they had resolutely maintained their independence against a cruel and rapacious enemy.

Touching on the westward of St. Mary's Island, the admiral went on shore, with about seventy or eighty of his men, and was met by the natives, headed by two of their chiefs. These people had been reduced to the most abject slavery by the Spaniards; but had been converted to Christianity. They conducted the English to a church, round which were several storehouses, well filled with wheat and barley. Though they have plenty of grain and roots, and abundance of swine and poultry, they did not dare to touch animal food themselves; and were obliged to reserve a certain proportion of their corn for their imperious masters. The English, however, giving out that they were subjects of his Catholic Majesty, were plentifully supplied with provisions; after which they invited the chiefs on board the admiral's ship, where they were handsomely entertained. The natives now began to discover their mistake as to the nation their strangers belonged to; but this had no unfavourable effect on their conduct towards them. On the contrary, they seemed to feel an attachment to a people, whom they considered as hostile to their oppressors; and by signs gave them to understand, that their coun-

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try was rich in gold, which, from the intercourse they had had with Europeans, was judged to be the strongest mark of friendship and regard.

The views of the admiral, however, prevented him from searching for gold in Aranco; and he soon sailed from this island to the Bay of Quintero. Soon after their arrival, a man, who was tending some cattle on a hill that gave him a prospect of the bay, set off and alarmed the country. In consequence of this, three horsemen came down to the English, and conversed with them, by means of a Spanish interpreter who was on board. The admiral, taking the result of the conference on the credit of the interpreter, was brought to the belief, that a promise had been made of a supply of provisions; but on the Spaniard being again sent on shore to conclude this business, he mounted behind one of his countrymen, and was carried off full speed. Cavendish finding himself duped, ordered his men to take in water, and resolved to reconnoitre the town, that he might destroy it for the affront he had received.

The next day, Captain Havers was sent up the country with fifty men well armed. They travelled several miles inland; saw numbers of wild horses and dogs, hares and rabbits, and a variety of fowls, spread over a fertile country. Having reached some lofty mountains they rested themselves; and though it seems two hundred horsemen were abroad that day, who had a sight of the English, they returned to the ships unmolested, but without discovering the town. On the morrow, however, a watering party being sent out at a small distance from the shore, while intent on their business, and unsuspecting of danger,

danger, a large detachment of horsemen suddenly poured down upon them, and cut off twelve of the English, before any relief could be sent them. The Spaniards, after combating for an hour, lost double the number, and at last were forced to retire.

On the 5th of March the admiral proceeded to a place called Morro Moreno, where he landed with about thirty men. The Indians here very hospitably received him, and furnished him with such provisions as their country afforded. These appeared a simple inoffensive people, living in the humblest style, at a distance from luxuries, and without any wish to partake of them. Their huts were composed of a few upright sticks covered with boughs; and their boats were made of seal skins, blown up with wind, on which they dared the dangers of the sea in pursuit of fish.

A small bark, coming out of Arica, was captured by the pinnace; and they also took possession of an empty vessel of a hundred tons burden. In the mean while the guns of the fort began to play on them, and the force of the place to assemble. In this posture of affairs, Cavendish thought it unsafe to attack the town, more particularly, as the Content was at some distance, engaged in securing some wines.

A flag of truce was afterwards dispatched with an offer to the Spaniards, of ransoming the large ship captured here; but they declined any correspondence, in consequence of positive orders received from Lima.

Soon after, a ship was descried in the southward quarter, and the admiral sent off his pinnace and boats to take her; but on a signal from the

the town, her crew crowded sail and ran her on shore, where the most valuable part of her cargo was landed before the English could come up. She was, however, sunk by Cavendish, and the large ship set on fire.

Finding it impossible to annoy the Spaniards farther at this place, they left the harbour, and in their course took a small bark, on board of which was a Grecian pilot, well acquainted with the coasts of Chili. They also found three Spaniards and a Fleming, all of whom had been sworn to destroy their dispatches on the event of falling in with Cavendish. This they accordingly performed; but, by a cruel infliction of torture, were at last obliged to confess the nature of their errand. The Fleming displayed a firmness that gained him the admiration of the English: though threatened with instant death, and even hoisted up with a rope round his neck, he disdained to purchase life by perjury.

After some petty depredations on the coast, as they proceeded, and the separation of the *Content* and the *High Gallant*, the squadron again joined on the 17th of May, when it was found, that some prizes had been captured in the interim, and one of them deeply laden with provisions, which afforded a desirable supply to the crews.

The fleet now proceeded to Paita, where the admiral landed, and had some skirmishes with the inhabitants; in which, notwithstanding an amazing superiority of numbers, they were obliged to yield to British prowess. Two or three hundred houses were burnt to the ground, with a considerable quantity of furniture and goods.

The admiral again set sail, and proceeded to Puna. Here he found a ship of two hundred and fifty tons burden, which he burned, and then landed near the palace of the cacique, which was very elegant for the country, and enjoyed delightful prospects. Adjoining was a large storehouse filled with pitch, and materials for making cables. This prince was an Indian born, but had married a Spanish woman of great beauty, who was honoured as queen of the whole island, and kept up great state and dignity.

The cacique and his queen fled on the first appearance of the squadron, and carried with them one hundred thousand crowns, as an Indian captain informed Cavendish. To recover this treasure was now a desirable object; but, notwithstanding the admiral secretly marched to the retreat of the cacique by night, the prince was again fortunate enough to escape, and to remove or conceal his money.

The English then went to an adjoining island, where they burned a church and took away the bells. While thus employed, they were attacked by one hundred Spanish soldiers, whom they routed with considerable loss, and in the sequel, set fire to the town and all the shipping.

Sailing towards Anguatulco, they took a ship of one hundred and twenty tons burden, on board of which they made prisoner a native of Marseilles, well acquainted with the coasts. Landing at Anguatulco, they consumed the town by fire, with much public and private property.

After a variety of predatory expeditions, and the destruction of towns and ships, without any object, but that of doing injury to the peaceful possessors, they arrived on the coast of California.

Here,

Here, on the 4th of November, in latitude 23 deg. 24 min. north, one of the *Desire's* company, ascending the topmast head, discovered a sail, and gave notice to the admiral, who immediately prepared for action. Having got every thing in readiness, and encouraged his men with the prospect of a rich prize, he gave chase, and towards the close of day came up with the enemy, saluting her with a broadside, and a volley of small shot. She proved to be the *St. Anne*, a very richly laden ship from Acapulco, belonging to the King of Spain. She carried seven hundred tons, and was commanded by the admiral of the South Seas.

Cavendish had now an object and an enemy worthy of his exertions. He first made an attempt to board the ship; but being repulsed by superior numbers, was obliged to retire, with the loss two men killed and five or six wounded. The English admiral, however, made a fresh attack with great and small guns, which raked her through and through, killing a vast number of men. This so dispirited her commander, that after the second broadside a flag of truce was hung out; and the most abject entreaties were used to save their lives; and that the ship and her cargo should be surrendered. To this reasonable request Cavendish acceded, on condition, that they would instantly lower their sails, hoist out their boat, and come on board his ship. This was accordingly done by the commander, the pilot, and one of the principal merchants.

Having gained an easy victory, they now set about examining the value of the capture. She was found to contain one hundred and twenty-two thousand pesos of gold, large quantities of

filk, satins, damask, musk, and all manner of provisions; which, in their present situation, were almost as acceptable as the riches.

On the 6th of November, the admiral put into the harbour of Porto Seguro, with his prize, where all the Spaniards, men and women, to the number of one hundred and fifty, were set on shore. Cavendish having pitched on a fertile spot for their habitation, gave them store of wine and provisions, together with the sails of the ship, and some planks for erecting houses and other conveniences to secure them from the weather. The commander of the Spanish ship received a handsome present, and he and his men were entertained with a display of fire works on the 7th of November, being the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation.

Having thus disposed of his prisoners, the admiral's next care was to divide the booty. But ample as this was, the partition occasioned a mutiny among the crew, each wishing to amass more than fairly fell to his share. The generosity, however, of Cavendish, at length put a stop to this dangerous commotion, and all were satisfied, or appeared to be so.

Of the Spanish prisoners, the admiral detained two Japanese boys, who were well skilled in their native language; three natives of the Isle of Manilla; a Portuguese, who had been in China; and a Spanish pilot, well acquainted with the navigation of the seas between Acapulco and the Ladrone Islands.

On the 19th of November, after taking leave of the Spanish commander, the admiral set the St. Anne on fire, with six hundred tons of rich merchandise on board, which he could not carry

off; and sailing from California, directed his course towards the Ladrones. During the passage, the Content was separated from the admiral, and never afterwards rejoined him.

After a prosperous voyage, they reached one of the Guarfa Isles, on the 3d of January 1588; and soon perceived a number of the natives coming off in canoes, constructed with much art, and having idols on their prows. These vessels were between forty and fifty feet long, but disproportionably narrow. The sails were made of mats, either square or triangular; and they could not only navigate them with the wind, but against it. At first an amicable exchange took place of provisions for iron and other European articles; but when the English wished to put an end to the traffic, the natives still continued to swarm round the ship, till some of their canoes were overset. The crews, however, saved themselves by swimming; and when the rest became absolutely troublesome, the admiral ordered his people to fire at them; but with great agility they dived into the sea, and in general escaped any harm. These Indians were of an olive complexion, and were very personable men, of a stature superior to the Europeans.

Touching at several places of little note, the English came to an anchor at Capul, where they were presently visited by a native prince, who, taking the strangers for Spaniards, brought them a supply of cocoa and potatoes, for which he received cloth and linen. The original historian of this voyage tells us, that potatoes were good eating, and very sweet, either roasted or boiled. At that period, potatoes were little known in this country, having been imported from America,

rica; and, perhaps, they are the most valuable article which Europe has derived from the discovery of the new world. Here they were also supplied with hogs and poultry, on the same terms as the Spaniards were wont to purchase them. While the admiral lay at this place, he was informed that, a plot had been formed by the Spanish pilot, taken out of the *St. Anne*, to convey intelligence to his countrymen at Manilla, of the strength, situation, and views of the English. Written evidence of this intention having been found in the pilot's trunk, he was sentenced to be hanged, and accordingly suffered on the 16th of January.

The inhabitants of Capul, of the male sex, had a leather girdle round their waists, interwoven with plantain leaves; while the females wore a kind of apron depending from their middles.

Cavendish having exacted a tribute in hogs, potatoes, and poultry, from the chiefs of this and some adjoining islands, summoned them together, and displaying his ensign with beat of drum and sound of trumpet, declared his country, and his enmity to the Spaniards, whom they had hitherto supposed they were serving. He then paid them for whatever they had brought in, which was so satisfactory to the natives, that they promised him all the services in their power, and that they should be ready to assist him in annoying the common enemy. This declaration was received by the admiral with every demonstration of friendship; and a gun was fired, at parting with those hospitable islanders, to their equal pleasure and surprize. The English now coasted along Manilla, which, at that time, was inhabited

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habited by a considerable number of Spaniards, and well planted ; but the town was neither strong by nature nor art. The place, however, was rich in gold and silver, and carried on a lucrative traffic with Acapulco and China. In his progress, the admiral chased a frigate, and took an Indian canoe. Soon after, about sixty Spanish soldiers appeared on the beach, and exchanged a few shots, which, however, did no execution. Meanwhile the inhabitants being alarmed, and the Spanish force being judiciously divided and stationed, Cavendish was apprehensive of the event of an attack, and, therefore, determined to abandon his design on Manilla. He, however, sent a Spaniard on shore, with his compliments to the governor, and desired he would lay in a good store of gold, as it was the intention of the English admiral to pay him another visit in a few years ; and adding, that he only wanted a larger boat, or he would have then paid his respects to him.

Sailing for Java, he sent a boat's crew and a negro, skilled in the Moorish language, to inform the natives, that it was the English who were on their coasts, that they wanted a supply of fresh water and provisions, and were also disposed to trade with their king for diamonds or other jewels. A favourable answer being returned, as to provisions and water, some boats came off with the fruits of the country ; and, in a short time, the king sent his secretary and interpreter with a present for the admiral. This consisted of eggs, fish, a hog, some sugar canes, and a clear strong wine. Cavendish exerted himself to the utmost to entertain his visitants ; and next morning they were dismissed.

As

As soon as the wind would permit, his majesty sent off nine canoes, laden with all kinds of provisions, and several of his officers. Among the rest came two Portuguese, who had established a factory there, and who, though their country was at that time under the sceptre of Spain, were inimical to that nation, and wished for a native prince to ascend the throne of Portugal, whose pretensions, they had heard, were espoused by the English. These persons were very communicative to the admiral, and gave him the subsequent account of the policy, manners, and customs of Java at that period.

They said that the country was very fertile, and excellently adapted for foreign commerce. That the king of the district was called the Rajah Balamboan, who was at once feared and respected by his subjects. Without his licence, none could traffic with another nation, on pain of death. They represented the rajah as advanced in years, but that he entertained one hundred wives, while his son and heir was allowed half that number. At the king's death it was customary to burn his body, and to preserve the ashes; five days after which ceremony, his wives were summoned to a particular place, and each having a dagger ready, stabbed themselves, with their faces towards the east. The common people were said, by the Portuguese, to be of a subtle genius, and extremely warlike; ready to embark on any enterprise, when their sovereign commanded; and if they failed, were generally put to death. Hence, death or victory was the prevailing principle. The women wore a slight covering; but the men were chiefly naked.

Having

Having entertained the Portuguese in the most friendly manner, the admiral dismissed them with a salute of ordnance, and sailed on the 16th of March for the Cape of Good Hope. Nothing of importance occurred till the 10th of May, when they saw land, which, at first, they imagined to be the Cape; but afterwards found they were fifty leagues short of it. Before they could double the extremity of the African continent, nine weeks were elapsed from their sailing from Java. They met with some storms in this latitude, but none of magnitude. On the 8th of April they made St. Helena, which was originally discovered by the Portuguese, and has always been a valuable appendage to the country which possessed it, as it furnishes refreshments to ships, on the long and hazardous voyages to India. The description which Cavendish gives of this island, would be little entertaining. It is well known, that it came into the possession of the English by the marriage of Charles II. with Catharine of Portugal. We shall only remark, that in the time of Cavendish, St. Helena seems to have been more fertile in corn than it is at the present time.

The ships having taken in wood and water here, and the crews being refreshed, Cavendish set sail homewards on the 20th of June. After passing Flores and Corvo, and weathering a violent storm, he arrived in safety at Plymouth, on the 9th of September 1588.

Thus, after doing considerable damage to the Spaniards, and enriching himself, Cavendish accomplished a voyage, which will always make him memorable among the navigators of his country.

country. The object of enterprise, we have observed, was little honourable; but that was the fault of the age rather than the man. Drake and others fall under the same censure of warring against individuals, and are entitled to the same excuse.

It might have been supposed, that Cavendish had now amassed a sufficient share of wealth to permit him to indulge in his ease for the remainder of life. The misfortune is, that with our acquisitions our views enlarge; and as all beyond competence is an ideal good, no bounds can be set to what fancy chiefly influences. Cavendish having tasted the sweets of plunder, longed to satiate himself to the full; and in 1591 we find him engaged in a similar undertaking to his preceding voyage, but with very different fortune, as the sequel will shew.

Having collected a body of able mariners and skilful commanders, he again set sail from Plymouth on the 26th of August 1591, with the Leicester, his own ship; the Roebuck, Captain Cooke, vice-admiral; the Desire, Captain Davis, rear-admiral; the Dainty, Captain Coffen, and a bark called the Black Pinnace.

Holding on their course towards Brasil, they were becalmed for twenty-seven days near the equinoctial line, a circumstance which probably contributed to their succeeding difficulties and disasters. In their passage, they took a vessel of little value. However they found a friar curiously concealed in a meal tub; and from the pilot they gained some useful information. At Placentia they landed and plundered some houses; but before their arrival at Santos, the crew exhib-

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bited such symptoms of a mutinous conduct as gave unfavourable presages of their future success.

However, they determined to make an attack on the town of Santos, which, according to the intelligence they had received, was but indifferently defended. An hundred men were therefore selected for this enterprise; but as all were alike ambitious of plunder, it was difficult to appease those who felt themselves deprived of a share in the expedition. At last the attack was made, while the Portuguese were at mass: and therefore little opportunity was given for resistance. The design was well laid, and as luckily executed; a considerable booty was obtained, and hostages were taken for the farther supply of the English, during their stay; but, owing to the negligence of one of the captains, a great part of the provisions taken from the Portuguese was suffered to be carried off by the natives, which reduced the admiral to new difficulties, during his imprudent stay here, of not less than two months. This waste of time it is impossible to account for. Indeed a kind of infatuation seems to have attended the principals in this expedition.

After doing much damage on the coast of Brazil, without much benefit to himself, the admiral directed his course to the Straights of Magellan; but on the 7th of February, while in the latitude of the River Plata, a most dreadful tempest arose, which, raging with unabating fury for some days, separated the fleet; and one of them, the Dainty, made the best of her way to England, leaving the captain on board the Roebuck.

Having, with great difficulty, weathered the storm, the remainder of the Squadron rendezvoused in Port Desire. The crews being refreshed, Cavendish again set sail on the 28th of March, and with some difficulty reaching Port Famine, they were obliged to remain there for the space of a week, subsisting chiefly on muscles, and a few fruits which that inhospitable clime produces. On their attempted passage through the Straights, they experienced all the calamities of cold and hunger. One Knivet, in particular, who afterwards passed through a series of extraordinary adventures, lost several of his toes by the inclemency of the weather at Port Famine; and we find it related by an historian of this voyage, that, in the midst of their distresses, and while the passage remained doubtful, all the sick men were put on shore in the woods, to remove useless encumbrances, an instance of inhumanity that would have reflected shame on savages!

Insuperable difficulties presenting themselves against reaching the South Seas, both from the state of the ships and the supply of provisions, as well as from the conflict of the elements, the universal voice of the mariners was loud for a return to the coast of Brasil; and, though the heart of Cavendish was set on an expedition to the south coasts of America, where he had been so successful before, his single authority could not prevail against the united weight of all; and he reluctantly yielded to what he deemed a mutinous company, and began to repass the Straights.

As China was one object in this voyage, Cavendish still thought it possible to put his design in execution of sailing thither by the Cape of

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Good Hope; but his men, accustomed to control, over-ruled this intention; and he accordingly stood for the Brasilian coast. One calamity now followed another in quick succession: on the 20th of May, the Desire and Black Pinnace separated from the admiral, which accident he imputed to the misconduct of Captain Davis; but this charge is refuted by other testimonies. Not long after, the Leicester lost the Roebuck in a storm, and, with great difficulty, made the harbour of St. Vincent, where thirty of the crew going ashore, accompanied by an Indian, and imprudently venturing too far from their associates, were attacked by a number of Portuguese and savages, and massacred to a man. The Indian alone lived to return with these melancholy tidings, and to his erroneous intelligence, though without any sinister designs, this catastrophe was justly to be ascribed. The wounds he had received in the conflict, bore testimony to the rectitude of his intentions, and to the imprudent confidence of the party.

This loss was severely felt by Cavendish; but while, with all his fortitude, he was ready to despond, he had the good luck to capture a Portuguese boat, which supplied the want of his own; and what was still more agreeable, the Roebuck entered the bay, but in such a shattered state as to render it impossible to reap much service from her assistance.

The admiral was still inflamed with a desire of revenge against the Portuguese; but the Brasilian harbours scarcely admitting any ships of burden, he was obliged to confine his resentment to the destruction of farm houses, from which exploits he neither reaped honour nor profit.

A more important attempt was suggested to the English, that of taking the town of Spirito Santo; but finding it impossible to bring the ships over the bar, Cavendish had thoughts of desisting from the principal object, when he discovered three vessels at anchor nearer the city, which he proposed cutting out at night. The disaffection of his men frustrated this design too; yet next day they insisted on performing what was now equally dangerous and impracticable. They landed, contrary to the admiral's judgement, in two crazy boats, to attack the town in the face of an enemy prepared for their reception. Disgrace and defeat were inevitable. Captain Morgan, whom they had compelled to head them in this desperate enterprise, was killed with two-thirds of the party; while the survivors brought back nothing but unprofitable wounds.

The admiral next sailed for the island of St. Sebastian, and in his way, the Roebuck, which had so lately joined company, voluntarily parted from him in the night, taking away both the surgeons, and above double the proportion of the necessary provisions for the complement she carried.

Notwithstanding all this combination of unpleasant circumstances, Cavendish had not yet entirely relinquished his design of visiting the South Seas. When the mind of resolution is bent on any object, difficulties only increase the ardour of pursuit. This seems to have been the case with the admiral. But he found menaces were now vain; and having little to promise, his men put a bold negative upon his plans, and obliged him to steer for the island of St. Sebastian.

When

When they arrived here, they had only one cask of water left; and being separated from the Portuguese only by a small creek, and suspicious of the fidelity of his own men, he was in a situation the most distressful that can be conceived. To increase his calamities, the Portuguese and Indians united in annoying his men, of whom they took and killed many; so that he was under the necessity of leaving this place before he could procure sufficient supplies of either wood or water for the voyage.

So jealous were the remnant of men that still stuck by the fortune of Cavendish, and had outlived so many disasters, of his intention of passing the Straights of Magellan, that having overshot St. Helena, they could not be persuaded to steer to the southward, but peremptorily demanded on proceeding directly for England, whither it appears this unfortunate adventurer never lived to return. Grief and disappointment are supposed to have broken his heart. In a letter to a friend, a little before his decease, after mentioning the premature death of a near relation, he adds, "what with my grief, occasioned by this event, and the continual trouble I endure among such hell-hounds (meaning his ship's crew) I wish myself on any desert place in the world, there to die, rather than return home again; which course I would have put in execution, could I have found an island laid down in the charts, about 8 deg. to the south of the line, and which I sought for with diligence, there to end my unfortunate life."

Thus a man, blessed with an ample fortune, by indulging in excesses, and then giving way to a roving disposition, forfeited every advantage

to which he was born, lived in trouble, and died in misery. This is too frequently the end of rash adventure; and the fate of Cavendish may furnish an useful lesson to those who are entering on the stage of existence, what they ought to pursue, or what they ought to avoid.

As the admiral seemed to impute much blame to Captain Davis, of the *Desire*, for a wilful dereliction of him; so on the other hand, that officer was anxious to justify himself from the charge. According to Davis' account, they lost the admiral in the night, and supposing he had steered for Port Desire, they proceeded there to find him. Being disappointed in their hopes, the captain drew up a statement of their situation, and the difficulties to which they were reduced in the following terms, which was authenticated by the crew:

" On the 26th of August, 1591, we whose
" names are undersigned, with divers others, departed from Plymouth under the command of
" Thomas Cavendish, our general, with four ships
" of his, for the performance of a voyage into
" the South Sea.

After recapitulating the principal events of the voyage, the memorial proceeds thus, " On
" the 21st of May, being athwart of Port Desire,
" thirty-six leagues off the shore, the wind then
" north-east and by north, at five o'clock at
" night we suddenly cast about, lying north-east,
" the fleet following the admiral, our ship coming under his lee, shot ahead of him, and
" so framed sail, fit to keep company. This
" night we were severed, by what occasion we
" know not, whether we lost them or they lost
" us. In the morning we saw only the Black
" Pinnace,

" Pinnace, then supposing the admiral had over-
" shot us. All this day we stood to the east-
" ward, hoping to find him, because it was not
" likely he should stand to the shore so sud-
" denly; but missing him, towards night we
" steered toward land.

" Next day we encountered a violent storm,
" with the wind at north-west, and we were
" forced to hull, not being able to bear sail;
" and this night we suffered considerable da-
" mage in our masts and rigging. The pinnace
" likewise became very leaky, so that we were
" forced to seek the nearest shore for our relief.
" And because famine was the least evil we had
" to apprehend, we desired to go for Port Desire,
" hoping to subsist on seals and penguins, and
" after being refreshed, to follow our general,
" or wait his coming from Brasil. The 24th of
" May, we had much wind at north. The 25th
" was calm, and the sea very lofty: the 26th
" our fore shrouds broke; so that had we not
" been near the shore, it would have been im-
" possible for us to reach it.

" And now being here moored in Port Desire,
" our shrouds are all rotten, not having a run-
" ning rope to which we may trust, and being
" provided with only one shift of sails, all worn;
" neither have we pitch, tar, or nails, or other
" materials to supply our wants; and we subsist
" on seals and muscles, having only five hogs-
" heads of pork on board, and meal three ounces
" a day, with water to drink.

" And forasmuch as it hath pleased God to
" separate our fleet, and to bring us into such
" hard extremities, that now by his mercy alone
" we expect relief, though otherwise hopeless

" of

" of comfort ; yet because the wonderful works
 " of God in his exceeding great favour towards
 " his creatures, are far beyond the scope of man's
 " capacity, by Him we hope to have deliverance
 " from our deep distress. Also, forasmuch as
 " those on whom the Almighty will bestow the
 " favour of life to return home, may not only
 " remain blameless, but also to manifest the
 " truth of our actions, we have thought good,
 " in Christian charity, to lay down under our
 " hands, this statement of our proceedings, even
 " till this time of our distress."

" Given in Port Desire, the 2d of June 1592."

Having signed this justification of their conduct,
 they set about such preparations as were absolutely
 necessary to put the ship in sailing condition, and
 to lay in such a stock of provisions as their mis-
 erable situation allowed. While thus employed,
 they assiduously kept watch to discover the ad-
 miral, but in vain ; and therefore on the 6th of
 August they resolved to proceed to the Straights
 of Magellan in quest of him. Storms, as usual,
 attended their progress ; but after they had a
 sight of the South Sea, so numerous were the
 difficulties and dangers they had endured, that a
 considerable party among the crew was for re-
 turning to Port Desire. The eloquence and ar-
 guments of the captain prevailed on them to de-
 sist from this intention, and it was agreed on to
 enter the South Sea. But the elements seem to
 have conspired against them. In a violent storm
 they lost the pinnace and all her crew ; and af-
 ter a variety of disasters and providential escapes
 from rocks and waves, they re-entered the
 Straights, and anchored in one of the coves with
 which they abound. Here the inclemency of

the weather, the want of common necessaries, and the loathsome situation the men were in from vermin, almost drove them to despair, and though the captain was a man of conduct and resolution, he seems at times to have given way to despondency.

At last they reached the coast of Brasil, and having taken in a supply of provisions; while the fear which the natives manifested at first had given the English too confident an idea of security, they were attacked on a sudden by a multitude of Indians and Portuguese, and several were miserably massacred.

The number of the crew on board the *Desire* was now reduced to twenty-seven, though she had left England with seventy-six; and every hour increased their danger on this coast. With a very inadequate supply, both of water and provisions, they resolved, as the most agreeable alternative, to leave this fatal shore, and to trust to the mercy of Heaven, rather than trust themselves longer to the vengeance of man.

It should have been observed, that the only provisions they had been able to secure were penguins, of which they had laid in a stock of some thousands. In the cold climates the flesh of this bird had kept sweet and good; but as they began to approach the warmer latitudes, it began to taint and breed worms, which, notwithstanding all their endeavours, multiplied so fast, and became so extremely voracious, that they devoured every thing but iron. Their apparel and linen were totally consumed by them. Even their bodies were bitten, and the very wood of the ship was so much injured by their depredations,

dations, that it was feared the vessel could not be kept above water.

In this deplorable dilemma, to complete their distresses, they were overtaken by a singular distemper, a dreadful swelling of the body and limbs, which rendered them incapable of either standing or walking.

In this extremity, the captain declared that death was his only hope. Some died in the most excruciating pain, and others in a frenzy. The anguish which Davis felt must have been inexpressible; for though his own health was much less affected than that of the rest, he had now only sixteen persons alive, and of them not more than five who were capable of the least duty. Under all these forlorn circumstances, without victuals, sails, or men, "God, says our author, "guided us into Ireland."

The ship arrived at Beerhaven on the 11th of June 1593; and in five days after the captain and some of the men took their passage in an English fishing boat for Padstow in Cornwall.

Such was the termination of this disastrous voyage. Of the five ships that set out only three returned; and of the whole number of men who embarked on the expedition, not more than fifty survived.

Few voyages seem more marked with misfortune than this. From its very commencement it seems to have been a series of calamities and disappointments, and therefore, after reiterated dangers, it is not surprising that the men should be unwilling to persevere. It is one thing to attempt the achievement of a new and difficult adventure with resolution; it is another, after repeated repulses, to return to the charge and to combat

combat with ill fortune without a prospect of advantage. Cavendish appears to have been resolutely rash : while the tide of fortune waisted him along, he acted like an able commander ; but he knew not how to yield to the pressure of circumstances, and his conduct increased the calamities with which he was doomed to struggle.

VOYAGES

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VOYAGES AND ADVENTURES

OF

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

OF a man so distinguished, and at last so eminently calamitous as Sir Walter Raleigh, some account will naturally be expected. Whether we regard him as the hero, the scholar, or the patriot, we cannot contemplate his character without admiration. He was an honour to his country and to Elizabeth; and a disgrace to her successor for his ill-requited services.

This gallant adventurer was born at Budley, in Devonshire, in 1552. Of his early years we have but slender information: it appears, however, that he studied some time at Oriel College, Oxford, where he ranked as a commoner.

Leaving the university, he served with great applause in the Hugonot army, under Coligny, and afterwards against the rebels in Ireland. But the bounds of Europe were too limited for his aspiring genius. He longed to signalize himself by discoveries in the new world, the common field where daring spirits at that time displayed their talents, or fought their fortune. He accordingly sailed to the continent of America, where he settled a colony, named Virginia, in honour of his virgin mistress. This plantation was afterwards abandoned; and the sagacity of Ra-

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leigh discovered the cause. Virginia afforded no means of immediate profit or emolument to government, and therefore was neglected. This set him on a scheme of settling a new colony in another part of America, which might at once be productive of advantage, and enable the English to transfer the richest products of that country to their own, if they possessed sufficient courage to embark in the undertaking.

To accomplish this desirable purpose, he made the most minute enquiries into the state of Guiana. From books and papers he drew all the assistance that could possibly be procured of that kind; and from personal information he derived much more. But for the knowledge he acquired he was still more indebted to the stores of his own mind, a profound judgment, and extensive observation.

But Raleigh was not one of those superficial adventurers, who strike out a plan with crude and eager zeal, and then immediately pursue it. He knew the necessity of caution in an affair of such importance; and therefore dispatched Capt. Whiddon to reconnoitre the coast, that, after his information was as complete as the nature of things would allow, he might on this basis erect the superstructure of his designs.

This officer acquitted himself with address in his delegated trust, in spite of various impediments from the open force of the Spaniards, and more from their secret artifice, because they wished to secure this valuable country to themselves.

At last the project being ripe for execution, Raleigh fitted out five ships for the expedition; but afterwards curtailed the equipment. He
failed,

failed with only one bark besides his own ship, from Plymouth, on the 6th of February 1595; and on the 22d of March, arrived at the Isle of Trinidad, where he spent a considerable time in viewing the spot, and taking an accurate survey of its ports and havens.

Having taken the town of St. Joseph, he entered the River Oronoko, and investigated the strength and sentiments of the nations inhabiting its banks. He then steered by the Mountain Aio; and on the fifth day, after entering this noble stream, anchored at Morequito, in the Province of Aromaia, at the distance of three hundred miles from the ocean.

His object being to ingratiate himself with the natives, and to obtain their concurrence in the steps he meant to take, Raleigh immediately dispatched a messenger to the King of Aromaia, who, the next morning, paid him a visit on foot, and returned the same evening. This venerable prince was one hundred and ten years of age, and performed a journey of twenty-eight miles with apparent ease. He had a large train of attendants of both sexes, who brought abundance of fish, flesh, and fruits, as presents to the English. The old king was respectfully entertained in a tent, which the admiral had caused to be pitched for him; and by means of an interpreter, a conference was held, in which the cruelties of the Spaniards were fully enumerated. Sir Walter, finding the prejudices of the monarch were strong and just against that rival nation, explained the design of his own coming; and expatiated on the virtues and views of his queen, whose greatest ambition, he observed, was to relieve the distressed natives of America, and to humble the pride

of the Spaniards, which had induced her majesty to send him to Guiana.

The prince listened with great attention to his professions; and to the questions which were put, relative to the strength, polity, alliances, and government of Guiana, and the easiest way of penetrating into the heart of the country, made such sensible and pertinent replies, as astonished the admiral. To find so much judgment and good sense in a man, who had enjoyed none of the advantages of education, was what he little expected.

Having taken a friendly leave of the king, Sir Walter sailed westward, to the River Caroli, because it led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, who were inimical to the subjects of the sovereign of Guiana and Manoa.

While yet a great way off, he heard the roaring of the falls of this river; and, on entering it, in order to proceed to the Casagotos, forty miles up the stream, he found the river so rapid, that in an eight-oared barge he could not proceed a stone's throw in an hour. He, therefore, dropped his design of sailing up it; and encamping on its banks, sent an Indian to acquaint the chiefs of the district of his arrival and his designs.

On this message, one of the princes, named Wanuretona, attended by a numerous retinue, came to visit him, and brought a variety of refreshments. From these he learned, that a nation, named the Caroliano, were hostile both to the Spaniards and the Ynca of Guiana; and that three mighty nations, in the same neighbourhood, were possessed of a similar disposition.

On receiving this intelligence, Sir Walter dispatched a party, of between thirty and forty men, up the side of the river, while he, himself, with a few officers and attendants, armed with muskets, marched to take a view of the cataracts of the River Caroli. With this intention they ascended a high mountain, commanding an extensive prospect of the river, and perceived a prodigious and singularly grand cataract, between which, the water precipitating itself, and dividing into three streams, ran with amazing rapidity for the space of twenty miles. In this course various other cataracts appeared in view, whence the water dashed down with such violence, that the vapours enveloped the air in a thick smoke. The noise of these cataracts resembled incessant peals of thunder; and so frequently did they intersect the bed of the river, that the water rolled in a constant turbulence of foam.

The vallies were beautifully interspersed with hills, and watered with many sweet streamlets, meandering in various directions. The plains yielded fine herbage; and the soil was a hard sand, on which the feet made little impression. Numbers of deer were bounding along every avenue; and towards the close of day, the harmony of the birds made the trees resound with a thousand modulations. Cranes and herons frequented the banks of the river, of white, crimson, and carnation plumage. The air was cooled with mild breezes from the east; and every stone appeared spangled with gold and silver veins. Sir Walter picked up some of these beautiful fossils, which he afterwards shewed to the Spaniards of the Caraccas, by whom he was told, that they were the mother of gold, and,

though of little value in themselves, indicated the vicinity of gold mines.

A combination of unfavourable circumstances rendered a long stay here improper and unsafe. The rains were so heavy, and the floods descended with such rapidity from the hills, that sometimes the water was several feet deep by night, in places where they had marched in the morning dry-shod. The men had not changed their clothes for more than a month; and the rains frequently washed them ten times a day on their backs. Exclusive of this, the party was furnished with no instruments for opening mines; and if they advanced much farther, they must have been obliged to act against a people, numerous, warlike, and not entirely rude. These and other inconveniences, unnecessary to specify, made them resolve to march back to the ships, from which they had been a month absent; in which space, they had made a progress of more than four hundred miles from the sea coast.

This resolution being adopted, they embarked in their boats, and though the wind was unpropitious, they glided down the stream with great facility and expedition, and soon reached the port of Morequito.

On coming to anchor, the admiral was desirous of having another conference with the old king, and on signifying his wishes, his majesty soon arrived, with a numerous train loaded with presents and refreshments; when Sir Walter, having conducted him into his tent, questioned him as to the nearest road to the richest parts of Guiana. The king prudently remarked, that he ought not to think of penetrating to Manoa, the capital; for that neither the season of the year,

nor

nor the force he at present possessed, would sanction such an enterprize.

During Raleigh's stay, he obtained many images and plates of gold, which he collected, rather as specimens of the wealth of the country, than as articles of intrinsic value in themselves. And indeed, that it might not appear to the natives, that his chief design was to procure gold, he distributed among them as much English coin as was equivalent to the articles he received.

To authenticate his report, he also took with him some spar and ore of the valuable metals; and, that no doubt might remain of the entire confidence which he had gained with the natives, the old king entrusted him with the care of his son, Cayworaco, who was afterwards admitted to Christian baptism in England, by the name of Gualtero.

As hostages, however, or in compliance with the particular request of the natives, he left behind him an excellent draughtsman, who undertook to describe the whole country with exactitude, and a boy, who waited on the admiral, to learn the Indian languages, which he acquired in great perfection; but in the end, had the misfortune to be devoured by a wild beast.

Before the English set sail, two chiefs offered to conduct them to a gold mine, which they accordingly performed. But the weather now proving most unfavourable for every kind of business, the admiral resolved to return with all possible expedition to his ships, and next day revisited them at the Isle of Trinidad.

In this long and hazardous expedition, in which they had to contend with the severity of the weather, the attempts of the enemy, and the
absolute

absolute want of most of the conveniences, and many of the necessaries, of life, he lost only one negro, who was unfortunately devoured by an alligator.

The ore, when brought to England, proved extremely rich, and turned to good account; but, notwithstanding these first fruits of his adventure, and the high probability there was of forming an easy settlement in this rich country, the enemies of Sir Walter, jealous of his talents, and stung by his success, endeavoured, by the most invidious insinuations, to discourage the colonization of Guiana. They even threw out reflections on his veracity; and wished to make it appear, that he was more ambitious to aggrandize himself than to serve his country. Nor did they stop here. Some time after the queen's demise, they pursued him to imprisonment, and he was condemned for a pretended plot against the government. After lying a long time in confinement, during which he employed his pen to illuminate a thankless age, he regained his liberty; and was permitted to prosecute his discoveries.

Unprovided for by the state, and barely protected in his designs, Sir Walter was obliged to convert the best part of his property into money, which he employed in fitting out ships for a new expedition to Guiana; and he had the address to prevail on many of his friends to follow his example. Several respectable gentlemen embarked with him; and among the rest, his eldest son, worthy of such an illustrious father.

With a fleet, consisting of seven sail, of different sizes, Sir Walter left Plymouth in July 1612; and before he reached the Land's End, he was joined

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by as many more, so that his squadron consisted of fourteen ships. Some of these, however, deserted him in the sequel, and returned home, without aiding the enterprize.

In his course he touched at the Canaries; and intending to land at Gomera, the Spaniards opposed him. They lined the beach with armed men, and saluted his fleet with some resolution; but were soon dispersed by the great guns. After this reception, a messenger was sent on shore, to assure the governor that he had no hostile intentions; that he only wanted a few necessaries, for which he would honourably pay; and that if any of his men misbehaved, they should meet with instant and exemplary punishment. This explanation removed all jealousy, and so well did the admiral keep his word, that the governor gave him a letter to Count Gondamor, the Spanish ambassador at the court of St. James's, wherein he acknowledged the polite and honourable conduct of Sir Walter, and gave him a character, respectable to his country and himself.

It seems the governor's lady was of English extraction, and between her and the admiral many civilities passed, and presents, mutually acceptable, were given and returned.

He now proceeded to his destination, and on reaching Guiana, the homage and attention he received from the Indians were of the most flattering kind. They supplied him and his men liberally with provisions; and even made him a tender of sovereign power, if he would consent to settle among them. So much did he possess the manners of the gentleman, that wherever he went, his favourable reception was ensured; and where he had once visited, he was sure to be welcome again. The kindness and attention he experienced

experienced from these friendly people, he modestly mentioned in the dispatches he sent home; for, in Sir Walter, modesty was blended with the choicest gifts of heroic resolution and greatness of mind.

While he had the misfortune to labour under an indisposition, it was resolved, that he should stay, with five ships, at Punto de Gallo, while the rest, commanded by Captain Kemys, young Raleigh, and a few other gentlemen, with five or six companies of foot, should proceed up the River Oronoko, with supplies for a month, in quest of the gold mine which had been pointed out in the former voyage. The men were ordered to encamp, till all the particulars of the mine had been ascertained; and in case the Spaniards were in any force, the admiral ordered them to observe caution in landing; and concluded with a request, that if they should not find the mine so productive as was expected, they should be satisfied with bringing off some specimens of the ore, which would refute the calumnies of his enemies, that he wished to impose fictions on the prince he served.

These instructions being delivered, the squadron, destined for this enterprise, set sail on the 10th of December, and soon reached the Spanish town of St. Thomas, seated on the main channel of the Oronoko, where a settlement had been planted by Antonio Berreot, formerly captured by Raleigh at Trinidad. This town consisted of about one hundred and forty slight-built houses with a chapel, a Franciscan convent, and a moderate garrison.

Kemys and his associates, deviating from their instructions, thought it prudent to possess themselves of this place, lest they should leave an enemy

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The death of Captain Walter Raleigh

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enemy in their rear. Instead of landing a small party, as was enjoined, to make trial of the mine, under protection of their own camp, they resolved to land in a body, between the mine and the town; but, unhappily, disembarking by night, nearer the town than was suspected, they were attacked by the Spanish troops, who had been apprized of their arrival.

On a charge so sudden and unexpected, the common foldiers were panic struck; and had they not instantly been rallied by their commanders, they must inevitably have been cut to pieces. Animated, however, by the example of those brave men, they soon returned to the charge, and made such a vigorous defence, that the Spaniards were routed and put to flight. However, in the heat of the pursuit, the English ventured up to the town, before they perceived their mistake, and the enemy being reinforced, the battle was renewed. The governor himself, at the head of several companies, with their respective captains, fell upon the English; and the brave and sprightly Captain Walter Raleigh, then only twenty-three years old, impetuously rushing forward at the head of his party, having killed one of the Spanish captains, received a mortal wound from another. Still, however, pressing on with his sword against the captain who had shot him, the unfortunate youth was knocked down by the but-end of a musket, upon which he exclaimed, "Lord have mercy on me, and prosper the enterprize;" and with these words breathed his last.

At this instant, young Raleigh's sergeant pierced the Spanish officer through with his halbert. Two other of the commanders of the enemy were slain; and the governor himself fainting with

with wounds, and prostrate on the ground, was trampled to death, on which his men dispersed. Some of them took shelter in the houses, from which the English finding it difficult to dislodge them, set fire to the town, on which they fled to the woods and mountains.

Having taken possession of the town, Kemys left a garrison in the place, resolving to make an attempt on the mines, some of which were not very distant. But the Spaniards, after abandoning the town, had secured the passes, from whence they killed several of his men.

The English commander, therefore, finding the attempt very perilous, the passage being through thick, and almost impervious woods, and fearing lest the party left in possession of the town should be again assailed by the collected force of the Spaniards, judged it most expedient to give over the enterprise, and returning to St. Thomas, plundered the town, and carried off the most valuable part of the treasure; and the enemy, not daring to face them again, in order to ransom the rest, they set on fire that part which had hitherto escaped the conflagration.

On the melancholy news of the death of a brave and a beloved son, Sir Walter felt all that bitterness of grief, which is as compatible with the highest courage as the most abject cowardice. But his private loss was not all: he was frustrated in his hopes of success, and in the anguish of his heart severely reprimanded Kemys, and exclaimed that he had undone him. He farther observed, that had he only brought him a hundred weight of the ore, though with the loss of one hundred men, it would not only have given the king satisfaction, but would have preserved his own character, and afforded the nation encouragement

couragement to have sent out a greater force to have held the country for his majesty, to whom it of right belonged. Kemys, stung with vexation, retired in a sullen mood to his cabin; and soon after the discharge of a pistol being heard, Sir Walter called out to know the occasion, when the captain, with seeming indifference, replied, that it was nothing but a pistol he had let off on account of its having been long charged. In a short time, however, a servant found the unhappy man lying dead, and weltering in his blood, with a pistol and a long knife by him. On examination it appeared, that he had endeavoured to dispatch himself by the shot; but the bullet having only broken one of his ribs, he finished his existence by thrusting the knife through his left breast. Unable to brook disappointment and blame, he yielded himself a sacrifice to expiate for his misconduct. This shewed a want of magnanimity; for it is much easier to part with life, than to bear an accumulation of ills which sometimes oppress it.

Raleigh now summoned a council of his officers, who were of opinion, that they ought to retire to Newfoundland, to refit and take in refreshments; but several of his men mutinying in his way thither, he sent them directly home.

When he arrived in Newfoundland, still greater dissensions began to prevail; which, finding it impossible effectually to quell, he yielded to the will of the strongest party, though contrary to his own, and declared his intention of returning to England. About the end of July he arrived at Plymouth, chagrined and unhappy; and to give the last touch to his calamities, he found the king had published a proclamation, requiring

ing him and his people to appear before the privy council, to answer for his conduct in burning the town of St. Thomas. He was soon after put under an arrest, and committed a prisoner to his own house in London. But foreseeing the probable event, he endeavoured to escape to a vessel which lay ready to receive him at Graveend. He only reached Greenwich before he was seized; and being brought back, was committed to the tower. On the 28th of October 1618, he was brought into the Court of King's Bench, where the record of his former sentence being read, as it seems he could not have been condemned on any new charge, he was ordered to the Gate House, and next morning was beheaded in Old Palace Yard, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

On this occasion, he behaved like a hero and a Christian. He vindicated his conduct in an eloquent and pathetic speech; and then feeling the edge of the fatal axe, with a smile observed, "it is a sharp medicine, but a sure remedy for all woes." His head was severed at two blows.

The injustice and cruelty of this execution astonished all Europe, and will be an eternal stigma on the justice of the reign in which he suffered. But Gondamor, the Spanish ambassador, thirsted for his blood, on account of the many injuries he had done that nation, while he maintained the honour of his own country; and the weak and timid James had neither the honesty nor the resolution to save a man, who was one of the most distinguished ornaments of his age, and will be the admiration of all posterity.

VOYAGE

OF

OLIVER VAN NOORT.

AMONG the early circumnavigators, Van Noort has generally obtained a place; his voyage was pregnant with disasters, and productive of few advantages; and in itself it was no farther interesting than as patient fortitude amid dangers gives it a claim to interest and attention.

The ships equipped for this expedition were the Maurice, Concord, Henry Frederic, and Hope: the two former sailed from Rotterdam on the 2d of July 1598, and waited on the English coasts for their consorts till the 13th of September. Having engaged an English pilot of the name of Mellish, who had formerly been in the service of Cavendish, they sailed on their grand design, and came in sight of Guinea on the 3d of November. Arriving at Prince's Island, they were desirous of obtaining some fresh provisions, which an insidious negro, who met them at their landing, gave them to understand would be readily furnished; but while the negotiation for a supply was going on, a party of armed men, springing from an ambush, cut off a number of the Dutch, and among the rest the admiral's brother. The assailants pursued the strangers as far as their boats, which they also attacked; but the Dutch, recovering from their surprize, attempted to retaliate the unprovoked

I 2 injuries

injuries they had received, and meditated an assault on the castle. This enterprize, on deliberation, was found too dangerous, and they were obliged to satisfy their resentment by the destruction of some sugar-houses belonging to the enemy, and other inferior depredations. They now supplied themselves with such necessaries as they immediately stood in need of, and then sailed to Cape Gonfhalvo, where they met with two of their country ships; and received tidings of the unfortunate issue of some Dutch voyages on the Guinea coast,

On the 9th of February they arrived at Rio de Janeiro. Here they lost some time and men by the opposition of the Portuguese to allow them refreshments. Sailing from hence to St. Sebastian, they reposed in a safe harbour, where there was plenty of wood and water, but fruits and provisions were scanty.

Proceeding on their course, they were overtaken by a storm on the 14th of March, which separated some of the ships. The brumal season too was approaching in those inclement latitudes; and the scurvy began to rage with horrible effects. The admiral weighing present dangers and anticipating future ones, resolved to put into St. Helena, but finding it impracticable to make either that island or Ascension, he was glad to take shelter on a sterile shore, where the only provisions they could find were some marine fowls and shells.

Van Noort then attempted the coast of Brasil, but the Portuguese forbid their landing, which providentially drove them to the Isle of St. Clara, where being under the necessity of subsisting on herbs and a species of sour plum, in a fortnight
the

the sick men recovered their health, which may justly be ascribed to their vegetable food.

In their way to the Straights of Magellan they stood for Port Desire, where they supplied themselves with ample stores of fish and penguins; and sailing up some of the rivers, saw numerous companies of stags and buffaloes.

The admiral afterwards landed to view the country, charging his men, who were left behind, to guard the boats with vigilance, and not to quit them; but neglecting this salutary counsel, they fell into an ambuscade of the Indians, and some lives were lost. These savages are described as very tall, and as having their bodies painted. Their arrows were headed with stone.

A continued succession of tempests repelled them as often as they attempted to enter the Straights of Magellan. They lost their anchors, broke their cables, and were again visited by sickness; and, as if these calamities had not been enough, they aggravated them by their internal dissensions, which are inimical to enjoyment in every situation; but on expeditions, where prompt and cheerful obedience are indispensable to success, they cannot exist without absolute ruin. The commotions being somewhat appeased, after a tedious period of fifteen months from the commencement of their voyage, they at last fairly entered the Straights.

Near Cape Nassau, the Dutch perceiving some of the natives brandishing their weapons by way of defiance, landed and pursued them to a cave, where they ceased resistance only with life itself. Perhaps the insult was unprovoked, but the Dutch might have easily overlooked it; or at least revenged it with less severity. Not one of

the Indian party escaped. They fell in the resolute defence of their wives and children, whose lives the conquerors indeed spared, because they had nothing to hope from their destruction, nor to fear from their safety; but after depriving them of the paternal prop, was unprotected life a blessing?

Four boys and two girls were selected from among the captives, and kindly entertained on board. One of these boys afterwards acquired the Dutch language, and gave a pretty accurate account of his native country, as to its divisions, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants. He represented a particular tribe as men of the most gigantic stature, of not less than ten or twelve feet high; but these exaggerations we pass by at present, without comments. Some modern voyagers have left us nothing to doubt on the existence of a race of men in Patagonia, gigantic indeed compared to the generality of nations, but neither monstrous nor fierce.

Arriving at Port Famine, they found no remains of the City of St. Philip, which the Spaniards had built to command the Straights. A heap of stones only marked the inauspicious spot. On the 1st of December they doubled Cape Forward, and entering a large bay in the vicinity, found the ship, Sebald de Wert, a Dutchman, who had been engaged in an expedition under Admiral Veerhagen, but had separated from his principal. This officer informed Van Noort, that he had spent upwards of five months in the Straights; that out of one hundred men he had but eight remaining. The difficulties and dangers this squadron had run through were scarcely to be paralleled. De Wert was singularly unfortunate.

fortunate. In the midst of sickness, tempests, and want, he was obliged to stay here; for his ship was incapable of proceeding without repairs: and when Van Noort fell in with him, he had the mortification to find, that his countrymen were too much distressed themselves to afford him any substantial relief. Our readers, however, will be pleased to learn, that De Wert at last reached Holland, after discovering three islands without the Straights, called, from his Christian name, the Sebaldine Isles.

To return to our narrative, Van Noort proceeding to Maurice Bay, had the misfortune to lose two of his men, whom the natives massacred, as they were gathering muscles, the miserable food on which they principally subsisted. In the mouths of the rivers which disgorged themselves into this bay, they observed vast quantities of ice, of more than ten fathoms thick, though this was near the summer solstice in that climate.

The admiral shifted from one bay to another, but in general only to encounter new difficulties; however, on the last day of February, they entered the South Sea; but in a few days after, losing sight of the vice-admiral's ship, they sailed for the rendezvous at Mocha, in 38 deg. of south latitude. Here they found an Indian town of straw, the inhabitants of which freely bartered their commodities for European goods; and entertained the Dutch with a liquor, denominated Cici, formed of maize steeped in water and fermented, which was held in the highest estimation among them. The Dutch accounts say, that unlimited polygamy is allowed among this people; that they have no courts of justice; and that, except for murder, where life was paid for life,

life, all other crimes, private or public, might have their punishment commuted for a treat of *cici*.

Near St. Mary's Island, De Noort gave chase to and took a ship laden with meal. This was a most acceptable acquisition; but now they found themselves on the brink of danger. The pilot of the captured vessel informed them that two men of war were waiting for them at Arica, where intelligence of their designs had been received; and where fraud and force had been lately employed against other adventurers from Holland.

The admiral therefore resolved to proceed for Val Paraiso. Here he took two ships, but the Spaniards had deserted the town. From thence they sailed for St. Jago, where they heard of the wars between the Spaniards and the natives of Chili, and that the inhabitants of Baldivia had been put to the sword. They captured some ships at this place, but the Spaniards being apprized of their coming, had consigned to the deep fifty-two chests of gold, besides other valuable property. This disappointment the Dutch were not immediately sensible of, or perhaps they might have been driven to execute some barbarous revenge. They came in sight of the rich city of Lima on the 25th of April; and then directed their course for the Ladrones. At these islands they found a supply of cocoas and other fruits; and experienced that propensity to thieving among the natives, which it is impossible either to eradicate or prevent, except by vigilance or force.

At some places they procured refreshments, by pretending that they were Spaniards; at others, it was most convenient to assume another character;

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character; for where the Spaniards had not lost the influence of fear, that of love had no effect.

In their way to Manilla, they fell in with a Chinese junk, well stored with provisions, and from the master of this vessel obtained some useful information. As Manilla was too strong to render an attack prudent, they made the Isle of Luffon, where they captured a bark laden with hogs and poultry, intended as the tribute of some Indian nations to the Spaniards. At this island they likewise took a Japanese ship of two hundred and fifty tons burden, and soon after two coasting vessels, full of provisions and aqua vitæ.

But hitherto no object had presented itself which could compensate their labours: and they were now doomed to be tantalized with a prospect which they were not to enjoy. Sailing in the track of the Manilla fleet, they at last fell in with it, and an engagement immediately commenced.

The Dutch, though inferior in strength, were animated with the hopes of gaining much; the Spaniards, on the other hand, knew the full value of the prize they had to lose. Both sides displayed an ardour proportioned to the object for which they contended; but the Dutch admiral finding himself in danger of being boarded by his adversary, threatened to blow up the ship rather than yield. The men caught new resolution from despair, and their admiral's determination; in their turn they beat off the Spaniards, and boarded the admiral's ship, which sunk in spite of their efforts. The loss on both sides was considerable, the gain none.

After this indecisive engagement, De Noort sailed for Borneo, where he dispatched a messenger

ger to solicit the king's permission to trade with his subjects. The prince, suspecting they were Spaniards, would enter into no treaty with them. However they trafficked in pepper with the Patarees, a people of Chinese origin.

The Borneans, jealous of the unknown visitors of their coasts, and alarmed at their stay, meditated to surprise them, and having fitted out a fleet of one hundred proas, they advanced under the pretence of bringing presents from their king. The Dutch, however, kept a vigilant eye on their motions, and seeing through the artifice, threatened them with the fire of their ordnance, if they dared to approach. This spirited conduct had the desired effect, and the natives relinquished their designs.

The Dutch characterize the people of this island as very warlike, and they even ascribe a martial courage to the women, who are ready to revenge an affront with the point of the javelin. A few Borneans, finding it dangerous to use force against the Dutch, under cover of night, endeavoured to cut the cables of their ships; but being timely discovered, they were obliged to save themselves by swimming, with the loss of their proa.

Van Noort had now only one anchor remaining, and scarcely a cable to hold it; but in this distress, he had the good fortune to capture a country vessel, on board which was a skilful pilot, whose services were of the highest importance in this unknown sea.

Proceeding with cautious circumspection, they at last touched at Java, where they met with nothing worthy of remark. On the 26th of May, they arrived at St. Helena, where having

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taken in refreshments, they crossed the line in their way to Amsterdam, where they anchored in safety on the 26th of August.

Of the early life and subsequent adventures of De Noort, we have no particular accounts; nor does his character appear in any distinguished light in the enterprise we have related. That he was a man of courage is extremely evident; but he does not seem to have possessed that intuitive sagacity which seizes on fortunate occurrences, or deters from dangerous expedients.

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VOYAGE OF
SIR JAMES LANCASTER,
TO THE
EAST INDIES,

BEING THE FIRST ON ACCOUNT OF THE
ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

WITH A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE PREVIOUS AT-
TEMPTS OF OUR COUNTRYMEN IN THE
ORIENTAL REGIONS.

IN a former voyage, we have remarked, that though the English did not dazzle by their original discoveries, to their persevering labours the world and their country are indebted for unfolding that which was but imperfectly conceived, and finishing that which was only crudely begun. There are individuals as well as nations who possess the faculty of invention, but want the resolution to execute. The English have always, by slow but sure steps, approximated the object in view; and they have neither been seduced from their path by imposing probabilities of greater pleasure or profit, or deterred from the pursuit by the appearances of difficulty or danger.

The first person of this country who proposed the establishment of a trade to the east, was Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant of London, who hav-

ing resided several years at Seville, had obtained a complete knowledge of the history of the discoveries of the East and West Indies. This very intelligent and judicious gentleman, whose writings are still extant, appears to have combined extensive practice with rational theory; or, in other words, to have borrowed from experience as well as books. About the year 1527, he procured an introduction to Henry VIII. to whom he fully but briefly represented the infinite advantages which his subjects would derive from a direct commerce with the East Indies; and to render his proposal more palatable to the aspiring genius and high spirit of that prince, he earnestly recommended it to him, not only to encourage this new navigation, but to attempt it by another route; adding, by way of explanation of his ideas, that as the Portuguese had pushed their discoveries to the east, and the Spaniards to the west, he was ambitious that the English should find a way of their own to the Indies, and that was by the north.

To the honour of Mr. Thorne's penetration, it should be remarked, that he was early aware of the insuperable difficulties which have since been found to obstruct a passage by the north-east; and therefore, on sound philosophical principles, proposed sailing directly north, or at least very nearly so; from which course he conjectured many inconveniencies might be avoided, and many advantages gained. As a foundation for this opinion, he conceived that the voyage might be undertaken at such a season of the year as to enjoy the benefit of a six months day in that climate; and he had no idea that the seas could be frozen under the pole, at a time when the

sun, by his long continuance above the horizon, must have acquired a very active force. He likewise imagined, that whatever difficulties might attend the commencement of such an undertaking, they would gradually vanish; and be fully recompensed by a short and speedy navigation to the coasts of Tartary and Japan, from whence the course was open to the Indies.

In a word, if we consider the period when this proposal was made, and the sagacity and penetration this gentleman discovered, under the veil by which his subject was obscured, we shall find much to admire, and nothing to censure which human wisdom had then been able to ascertain.

But though this plan might have easily been put to the test of experiment, it was treated as an idle or an ingenious project, too bold to be hazarded, too improbable to excite attention. Some years elapsed before any new lights were thrown on the subject; and indeed Sir Francis Drake was the first who enlarged the conceptions of his countrymen, by extending the bounds of English navigation, in the year 1578. The very next year, a gentleman of the name of Stephens sailed from Lisbon to Goa, by the Cape of Good Hope, and favoured the public with a particular account of the voyage, in his native language, while he resided at Goa. This served to spirit up adventure; and the amazing advantages reaped by the Portuguese, were a sufficient stimulus to minds not influenced by the love of novelty.

In 1586, Cavendish, by his voyage round the world, had given an additional confirmation to the truth of the reports of the east, now beginning to be in current circulation; and in consequence, Captain George Raymond, in a vessel of

his own, named the Penelope; the Merchant Royal, commanded by Captain Clendell; and the Edward Bon-adventure, commanded by Captain Lancaster, sailed on the 10th of April 1591, from Plymouth for the East Indies; not so much with a view to traffic, as to cruize against the Portuguese. We will not enter into the detail of this voyage, because it is chiefly interesting, as being the first ever attempted by the English in that quarter. Raymond was extremely unfortunate. At the Cape of Good Hope, he was obliged to send home one of his ships, the Merchant Royal, with the sick men belonging to the squadron, which had increased to a melancholy degree, owing to the ravages of the scurvy. And after advancing about sixty leagues beyond the Cape, a violent storm overtook them, in which the admiral was lost with all his crew. The Bon-adventure, Captain Lancaster, was in the most imminent danger; for after the tempest abated, a terrible peal of thunder burst over their heads, and of ninety-four persons on board, not one escaped without hurt, while several were killed, others struck blind, and the mast was shattered by the lightning, in the most extraordinary manner. Nor was Captain Lancaster exempted from future calamities. After a disastrous voyage to the East, he was obliged to pass from thence to the West Indies, where, having lost his ship, with much difficulty, he obtained a passage home in a French privateer.

But though, in this interval, no English ships had been regularly sent to the East, for the purposes of commerce, numbers of individuals had visited it in different services; who, on their return home, gave such favourable accounts relative

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to the country, and the facility with which the English might establish a trade there, and settle factories, that many persons of rank, and eminent merchants, began to entertain a wish of realizing the prospects held out to them. Among the men of eminence, who patronized this scheme, was Robert Earl of Essex, who, it seems, employed a Captain Davis for pushing discoveries in the Indies; and we have a journal of that officer's voyage, addressed to his patron. Captain Davis sailed in a Dutch squadron from Flushing, on the 25th of March, 1598, and dates his relation on the 1st of August, 1600. The voyage in which he was engaged, was by no means very successful; but as his object appears to have been to gain information, in this respect he acquitted himself, probably to the satisfaction of his employer.

After these partial attempts, and collecting such a mass of intelligence, as might enable the friends and supporters of an East India commerce to proceed farther, application was made to Queen Elizabeth for a charter. Her majesty, sensible of the policy of encouraging commercial adventure, granted the request. The first East India charter bears date the 31st of December, 1600, in the forty-third year of the reign of Elizabeth. It was rendered exclusive for the space of fifteen years; but with this saving proviso, that if, within that term, this charter should appear to be detrimental to the interests of the public, it should, upon two years notice given by the privy council, become void: but if, from experience it should appear, that this new corporation was beneficial to the public, she, on the other hand, engaged to renew their grant, with such additional clauses in their favour as might be found requisite.

In consequence of this charter, the company immediately began to raise a joint stock for effectuating their intentions; and so favourable was the public to the undertaking, that in a very short space, the sum of seventy-two thousand pounds was subscribed. With this capital, it was resolved to fit out five strong ships, to open an intercourse with the East. These were the Dragon of six hundred tons and two hundred and two men, commanded by Captain James Lancaster, who had already, as has been mentioned, sailed into those regions, and therefore was promoted to the rank of general, or admiral; the Hector, of three hundred tons, Captain John Middleton, vice-admiral; the Ascension of two hundred and fifty tons, and thirty-two men, Captain William Brand; the Susan of two hundred and eighty tons, and eighty-four men, Captain Hayward; and the Guest, of a hundred and thirty tons, which was equipped as a victualler.

In each of the four principal ships were three merchants, who were to succeed each other, in case of death; and provisions and stores were laid in for a voyage of twenty months. The merchandise and money on board amounted to twenty seven thousand pounds; the rest of the subscription having been expended in the equipment of the fleet, and paying an advance to the mariners.

From this humble beginning, the greatest commercial company that ever the world saw, has arisen; a company that in splendor and riches, in territory and force, may vie with kings and emperors; and whose power, at this moment sanctioned by the British government, gives laws

to the remotest east, and turns the scale of victory, as it favours or opposes.

Queen Elizabeth gave the company letters of recommendation to several princes of India; and to prevent those dissensions and animosities, which are so fatal to all great enterprises, she invested the admiral with a commission of martial law.

The fleet being ready, sailed from Dartmouth on the 18th of April 1601, and putting into Torbay, the admiral sent his instructions to the different commanders, enjoining them to keep company at sea, as far as possible; and in case of unavoidable separation, he appointed the places of rendezvous.

Proceeding for the Canaries, on the 5th of May they came in sight of Alegranza, the northern most of these islands; but being frequently becalmed, and as often experiencing contrary winds, it was the 21st of June before they reached 2 deg. north. In this latitude, they fell in with a Portuguese ship; and as that country was then subject to Spain, with which the English were at war, they gave chase, and captured her. She proved a valuable prize, being laden with wine, oil, and meal, which were taken out and distributed among the ships of the squadron.

On the last day of June, they passed the equinoctial line; and some time after, they unloaded the Gueft victualler, which appeared unfit for the voyage; and securing her masts, sails, and yards, for occasional supplies, left her floating in the sea.

Having crossed the tropic of Capricorn, many of the crew began to fall sick, from the length of time they had been detained in such hot climates; and such was the progress of disease, that
by

by the 1st of August, all the ships, except the general's, were so reduced in their crews, that they had barely enough who were able to handle the sails. In a short time the distress from sickness was so alarming, that the officers and merchants were obliged to take their turns in the duty of the ships; but when they were reduced to the lowest ebb, a favourable wind springing up, soon carried them to Saldanna, where the Hector first came to an anchor. The general exerted himself to the utmost to get the different ships into port; and by transferring the healthy from the one to the other, all were at last secured.

The admiral's crew was by far the most complete, which entirely arose from his having some bottles of lemon juice on board, of which he gave three spoonfuls every morning, fasting, to his men as long as it lasted. The beneficial effects of this valuable antiseptic, it seems, were thus early known; but how much is it lamented, that though an easy remedy is in the power of all navigators, so little attention should still in general be paid to the preservation of the health of mariners in hot climates! Captain Cook has immortalized his name more by his humane and successful regard to the preservation of his men, than by all his labours and discoveries. Without health, the best-laid plans must be abortive, the utmost force can never prevail. Numbers indeed increase the calamity and aggravate the danger. In a country like this, where seamen are the bulwark of power, and the source of opulence, it cannot be too strongly impressed on the public mind, to prevent disease by every means which medical skill and long experience have pointed out as most salutary; and if this digression, which has in view

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the safety of a most useful body of men, should render their superiors and employers attentive to this benevolent aim, it will neither be written nor read in vain.

The admiral having by his care revived the drooping spirits of his men, and afforded them all the assistance which circumstances would permit, now went on shore; and falling in with some of the natives, he endeavoured to inspire them with confidence in their visitors, by a kind demeanour, and the distribution of some presents. He then took the most ready way, that we have ever known, of making a people, ignorant of his language, and with whom he could not converse by an interpreter, understand his meaning. He wanted a supply of cattle and sheep; and to make his wants understood he spoke in the language of the cattle themselves. He lowed like a cow; he baaed like a sheep; and ludicrous as this may appear, the natives took the meaning at once.

Having dismissed his guests, well pleased with their presents and treatment, he gave orders that tents should be erected for the sick out of the sails; and that some temporary fortifications should be raised to defend them from any sudden attack, should the natives conceive any disgust against them, or alter their present apparent opinion. He farther directed, that when the inhabitants came down with their cattle, only five or six persons, to whom that charge was delegated, should advance to deal with them; and that a company, armed with muskets and pikes, should keep a proper distance, but to be in a state of preparation for any event. This prudent order being strictly observed, none could hold any intercourse with the natives

tives without leave; and thus the harmony which subsisted between them suffered no interruption or diminution during their stay.

The third day after they landed, the people of the country brought down beef and mutton, which were purchased on the most moderate terms; but to the satisfaction of the sellers. For an ox, two pieces of eight were given, and for a sheep one. Hoops of iron and other equally insignificant articles also formed the medium of exchange. In ten or twelve days, one thousand sheep and forty-two oxen were procured; and so well were the natives satisfied with the returns they got, that double the number might have been procured at that time. These oxen were large and very fat; and the sheep were exceedingly sweet, and in good condition.

When as many animals had been purchased as it was supposed would be wanting, the sheep were turned out to graze round the tents; and afterwards, when the English wished to increase their stock, the natives pointed to what they had bought; and probably began to apprehend that there was an intention of settling among them, as there could be no apparent cause for a larger supply, without some such design. This made them shy of renewing the traffic; but no misunderstanding arose on either side.

The men being now in a convalescent state the admiral ordered the tents to be struck; and receiving on board a fresh supply of wood and water, he put to sea on the 29th of October, and fell in with the headland of Madagascar on the 26th of November. Plying to the eastward, the crew again began to fall sick of the scurvy; but on the 17th of December they came to an anchor

chor between St. Mary's Island and Madagascar, where they found a very desirable supply of oranges and lemons.

The Island of St. Mary is high and woody : the natives are of a dark complexion, and have negro hair and features. They were quite naked, except a small covering depending from the waist, and appeared warlike, yet not unfociable. Their principal food was rice and fish ; yet the English could procure but a scanty supply of the former ; for as the harvest was not quite ready, their stock seemed to be low. They obtained, however, some goat's milk ; but only one cow was seen on the island, and she was driven away on the approach of the English. It being impossible to procure adequate refreshments here, and as the anchorage was unsafe, the admiral sailed for Antongil, and entering the bay, which was commodious, they were eager to land. On the rocks they found a writing, which gave them to understand, that five Dutch ships having lately touched there, had lost nearly two hundred men by sickness.

This intelligence naturally threw a damp on their spirits ; but they hoped to be more fortunate than their predecessors in the same station. The natives soon repaired to them, and by signs informed them, that the Dutch had purchased the greatest part of their stock of provisions. However, they entered into barter with the new comers, to whom they sold fowls, rice, and fruits ; but at a high price. They appeared very dexterous and subtle in buying and selling ; continually pleading for a trifle more than was offered ; and if that was once complied with, they never lowered their terms.

Lancaster,

Lancaster, perceiving this tricking disposition, ordered measures to be made, holding each about a quart, and fixed how many glass beads should be given in exchange for each. The like regulation was made in regard to fruits and plantains. The number to be given for every bead was fixed, and from this there was to be no deviation. The natives, after a little coquetry, finding there was no alternative, complied with the regulations; and from this time their dealings were frank, and there was neither cavelling nor dispute. Indeed, the admiral evinced a judgment, on a variety of occasions, which shews, that those who had confided in him were not mistaken.

The English procured here a considerable quantity of rice, abundance of oranges, lemons, and plantains, eight cows, and some fowls. While they lay in the road, they set up a pinnacle of eighteen tons, the materials of which they had on board. This vessel they found very serviceable in sounding, and in occasional errands to the shore, where larger vessels could not have been used without danger.

And now we have to record the mortality which awaited the English in this bay. Out of the Dragon, the master's mate, the chaplain, and the surgeon, with ten common men, paid the debt of nature: out of the Hector, the master and two others. They all died of the flux, supposed to be occasioned by the insalubrity of the water. An unfortunate accident was superadded to this unavoidable loss. While the captain of the Ascension was attending the funeral of the master's mate of the Dragon, in his boat, the ship, as is customary, firing a farewell salute to their departed officer, the guns being charged with

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with ball, one of them struck the Ascension's boat, and killed the captain and another. Thus the attendants of a funeral were themselves doomed to fill the same grave!

On the 6th of March, the fleet left this bay, and in ten days fell in with the Island of Roque Piz, in 10 deg. 30 min. south latitude. Here Lancaster endeavoured, in vain, to find a proper road: the water was too deep to allow safe anchorage. This island had a beautiful appearance; it was full of cocoas and other trees; and so numerous were the fowls, and so unacquainted with the depredations of man, that they fled round the ships, and were easily taken or killed. Their flesh proved fat, and excellent eating.

In a navigation where they had so little to guide them, they were several times in danger of rocks and shoals. At last they reached one of the Nicobar Isles, where they met with a few refreshments, but no water. The natives came on board in canoes, capable of holding twenty men each; bringing a kind of gum to barter with, which the English at first mistook for amber, and paid for accordingly.

On the 6th of June, the admiral anchored in the road of Achen, in Sumatra, about two miles from the city, where they found near twenty ships of different eastern nations. Two Dutch merchants, who had been left to learn the language and manners of the country, soon paid their respects to Lancaster; and informed him, that the king, who was fond of strangers, would give them a hearty welcome; and that the fame of Queen Elizabeth and her glorious victory over the Spaniards were already spread over the remotest parts of the east.

This information encouraged the admiral to dispatch Captain Middleton, and a few gentlemen, to wait on the king, and to acquaint him, that the commander of the fleet just arrived, had a message and a letter for him, from the most illustrious Queen of England, to the most renowned King of Achen and Sumatra. It was also requested, that his majesty would be pleased to signify if it was his royal pleasure, to give the admiral an audience, and safe conduct for himself and his attendants, to deliver his letter and message.

Middleton was kindly entertained by the sovereign, who readily acquiesced in the demand he made; and asked him a number of questions. A splendid banquet was then prepared; and at his departure, the captain was presented with a robe and calico turban, wrought with gold, as a special mark of royal favour. His majesty wished the admiral to repose himself one day, after the fatigues of his voyage, and to receive an audience the next. With regard to security, he assured him, that he could not be more safe in the dominions of his royal mistress.

In compliance with his majesty's intimations, the admiral landed, with about thirty attendants, and was immediately met by the Dutch merchants, who conducted him to their house; as he did not chuse to engage one of his own, till after an interview with the king. Soon after, one of the grandees arriving, demanded the queen's letter; but the admiral declined to deliver it, observing, that it was the practice in Europe for ambassadors to deliver the letters of those they represented to the sovereign himself, and not to his ministers. The grandee then requested

quested a sight of the superscription, which he copied; and having attentively examined the seal, courteously took his leave, to report what had passed.

Soon after his departure, the King of Achen sent six elephants, with trumpets, drums, and streamers, and a considerable body of men, to attend the admiral to court. The largest of the elephants was about thirteen or fourteen feet high, and carried a small tower on his back, in the form of a coach, covered with crimson velvet. In the middle of this erection was a gold bason, covered with richly embroidered silk, and into this vessel the queen's letter was put. The admiral was then mounted on another elephant, while some of his retinue rode, and others walked on foot. On coming to the palace gate, he was stopped, till his majesty's farther pleasure should be known; but in a few minutes, the English ambassador was desired to enter. When the admiral approached the royal presence, he paid his respects in the manner of the country, and then briefly declared, that he was sent by the most potent Queen of England, to congratulate his highness, and to enter into a treaty of peace and amity with his majesty. As he was proceeding in his harangue, the king interrupted and relieved him, by replying in words to the following purport: "I am sure you are weary
" with the long voyage you have taken, and
" wish you to sit down and refresh yourself: you
" are very welcome, and shall obtain whatever
" you can in reason demand for the sake of your
" queen; for she is worthy of all favour, since
" fame represents her as a princess of a noble
" disposition."

The admiral now produced the queen's letter, which he tendered to his majesty, who, on receiving it, handed it to a nobleman in waiting. The admiral next offered the presents; a silver bason, with a fountain in the middle, weighing two hundred and five ounces; a large silver cup; a rich mirror; a case of very elegant daggers; a rich embroidered belt; and a fan of feathers. These were intrusted to a nobleman; only the king took the fan in his own hand, and was pleased to have his women use it to cool him.

Lancaster now seated himself in the eastern style, when a sumptuous banquet was served up. All the dishes were of pure gold, or of a mixture of brass and gold, not less esteemed than the pure metal. During this banquet, the king, who was elevated a few feet from the ground, drank several times to the admiral, in arrack; but the English representative finding the potency of this liquor, after one draught confined himself to a mixture with water.

The feast at an end, his majesty sent for some singing and dancing girls, and ordered his women to accompany them with music. These women were very richly dressed, and ornamented with bracelets and jewels. To suffer them to appear was a signal honour; and is conferred on such only as the king wishes to distinguish.

His majesty then presented the admiral with a fine white calico robe, richly embroidered with gold; a beautiful Turkey-leather girdle; and two crosses, which are particular kinds of daggers; all which a grandee put on for him, in the presence of the king. With these tokens of regard and consideration he was dismissed, and a guide was nominated to conduct him round the

town,

town, and assist him in engaging a house to his mind. This last favour he declined, preferring to lodge on ship board.

The next audience that Lancaster had, his majesty entered into the particulars of the queen's letter, with which he seemed much delighted. He professed his desire of cementing a good understanding with the Queen of England, by means of a treaty; and in regard to trade, he observed, that he had given his commands to two of his nobles, to confer with the admiral on the subject; and that her majesty's wishes in this respect should be gratified.

Another banquet followed this very satisfactory interview; and the next day, the two ministers, who were appointed to transact the commercial negotiation, were requested by the admiral to fix a time for their conference. One of these delegates was the high priest of Achen, a man, whose conduct had merited him the highest esteem, both of prince and people; the other belonged to the ancient nobility, and was a person of a grave and serious deportment, but less qualified for the transaction of business than his associate.

The time of meeting being agreed on, the conference took place in Arabic, which both the ministers understood; and a Jew, whom the admiral had brought with him from England, being well versed in that tongue, acted as interpreter. Lancaster having made some preliminary demands, relative to the privileges the merchants were to enjoy, the high priest requested, first, to hear the reasons which he supposed would justify the king in granting the favours asked. On this, the admiral expatiated on the advantages

of the queen's affection and friendship, and her zeal in protecting others from the King of Spain, the common foe of the east; and that, independent of the personal regard due to his mistress, it was the private interest of the King of Achen to accede to the offers of a commercial intercourse; for that sovereigns acquired glory and power, in proportion to the wealth of their subjects, which was most rapidly advanced by trade; and that the more kindly strangers were entertained, the more commerce flourished, to the emolument both of king and people. That with regard to Achen, in particular, the port lay well to become the emporium of the east. In this event, as the king's power would increase, so the trade of the Portuguese, and their usurpations in the Indies, would gradually diminish. It was farther represented, that in case his majesty should have occasion to employ artificers, he might be provided with them from England, on paying for their voyage out, and allowing them free liberty of egress and regress; and, in fine, that any other necessary, England afforded, should be at his majesty's service; presuming that he would not make any requisitions incompatible with the queen's dignity, the laws of the kingdom, and her leagues with Christian princes.

Business having proceeded thus far, the high priest desired the admiral to favour him with a written memorandum of the privileges he demanded in the queen's name, and the reasons on which his request was founded; telling him, that within a few days he should receive the king's answer. They then discoursed some time on the general politics of Europe, after which the admiral took his leave.

Lancaster

Lancaster was careful to send a copy of his demands as desired; and the next time he attended court, he found the king engaged in cock-fighting, which it seems was his favourite diversion. The admiral, however, sent his interpreter to remind his majesty of the business, about which he had conferred with his nobles. On this the king beckoned the admiral to approach, and signified that he was ready to enter into a treaty of peace with the Queen of England; and that, as for the articles specified in writing, they should be fairly transcribed by one of his secretaries, and authenticated by himself. Accordingly, the instrument, a few days after, was delivered by the king's own hand to Lancaster, with many expressions of congratulation and respect.

It may be entertaining to review the first foundation of our privileges in India. The substance of the articles, sanctioned by the King of Achen, were: That the English should have free liberty and trade. That their goods should be exempted from customs, whether imported or exported. That they should receive prompt assistance from the subjects and ships of Achen, in any case of danger. That they should have liberty to make wills, and bequeath their effects, according to their free pleasure. That all bargains should be confirmed, and orders granted for payment, by the subjects of Achen. That they should have authority to execute justice on their own men. That his majesty should do them justice against the natives, for injuries done them. That their goods should neither be stopped, nor prices affixed on them. And lastly, That they should be allowed liberty of conscience.

Their

Their rights being thus confirmed on the solid basis of reason and reciprocal advantage, the merchants next set about providing pepper to lade their ships; but from the sterility of last year, there was found but a very limited supply. However, they received information that one vessel might be supplied with a cargo at Priaman, a port about one hundred and fifty leagues distance; and thither the admiral sent the *Susan*, under the conduct of Captain Henry Middleton.

On investigating the nature of the trade in this country, and the price of commodities, Lancaster was not a little embarrassed to find, that the report of Captain John Davis, the principal pilot, to the merchants of London, in regard to the purchase of pepper, was infinitely wide of the truth. He had stated, that one hundred weight of pepper might be purchased here for four rials of eight; whereas, the admiral could not procure it much under twenty. On this account he was perplexed how to lade the ships, so as to save his own credit, preserve the esteem of his employers, and keep up the reputation of his country; reflecting, that it would appear disgraceful in the eyes of neighbouring nations to return empty from the Indies. Besides, the Portuguese ambassador watched every motion with a jealous eye; and would have been happy to disappoint the expectations of the English adventurers. Fortunately, this gentleman was not very acceptable to the king; for the last time he was at court, he had pressed his majesty for leave to settle a factory, and to erect a fort at the entrance of the harbour, on pretence of securing the property of his nation from fire. On this the king sarcastically asked him, If his master

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had a daughter to give his son, that he was so anxious about the protection of his country? adding, that the expence of building a fort was unnecessary, since he would furnish him with a proper house in the country for a factory, at the distance of two leagues from the shore, where they might live unmolested by enemies and safe from fire, as it should be his business to protect them.

This shrewd reply much chagrined the Portuguese ambassador; and, on the other hand, his majesty felt some resentment at the insolence of the demand.

But, though the ambassador was foiled in his aims, he did not desist from his designs, either in favour of his own country, or in opposition to the English. To watch the admiral's proceedings, he employed an Indian in the service of the Portuguese, to resort backwards and forwards to his house, on pretence of selling provisions. The admiral knowing the connections of this man, soon suspected him for a spy: however, he gave orders that he should be well used, that the fowls in which he dealt should be purchased at a handsome price; aware, that he who is mean enough to accept a bribe, will, for a higher one, abandon his first corrupter.

At last, Lancaster throwing himself in the way of the Indian, took occasion to ask him whence he came, and to what country he belonged; and, with some difficulty and address, brought him to acknowledge, that he was employed by the Portuguese ambassador, to procure intelligence respecting the English and the strength of their ships; which his excellency meant to dispatch to Malacca, in order to procure a force sufficient

to

to attack them. The admiral finding him so far communicative, promised him his liberty and other rewards, on condition that he furnished him, from time to time, with intelligence of the ambassador's proceedings.

The glow of satisfaction which lighted the Indian's face, and the quickness of his step, indicated the pleasure he felt from the prospects set before him. He managed the concern with great dexterity and caution; and though he regularly communicated what fell under his observation at the Portuguese ambassador's, he was neither suspected of treachery by him, nor regarded as a friend by any of the English, save the admiral himself.

When Lancaster next paid his respects at court, the king entered into a conversation with him, respecting an embassy he had received from the King of Siam, relative to the conquest of Malacca, and his requested co-operation. The admiral encouraged this idea by many cogent arguments, and inveighed against the insolence of the Portuguese ambassador, whom he represented in no other light than a spy. The king said, he was sensible the Portuguese were inimical to him; but was surprised that the English should know it. Lancaster replied, that the Portuguese envoy had surrounded him too with spies; and that he intended to procure a force from Malacca to attack him by surprize. On this the king smiling, observed, that he need be under no alarm of danger from that quarter, as there was not strength sufficient at Malacca to molest him. To this remark the admiral rejoined, that he was not apprehensive of any attempts against himself; but, that if the intelligence

were

were forwarded to Malacca, it would prevent him from being able to attack the Portuguese, as they would not venture out of their ports; and therefore, he requested his majesty would be pleased to detain some of the ambassador's servants, who were about to depart from another port with advices to Malacca. This his majesty promised to do.

The ambassador's messengers setting out, as was expected, with draughts of the English ships and their master's letters, thought to escape observation, by retiring to a port about twenty-five leagues from Achen; where, having agreed for their passage, they embarked. But just as they were leaving the harbour, they were pursued by a frigate, the commander of which insisted on examining their lading. Finding the two Portuguese messengers on board, he sternly interrogated them, whence they came, and whither they were going. They gave an unvarnished account of themselves and their destination, as far as they knew the purport of it; but the officer boldly challenged them with having robbed their master; and, therefore, they must be sent back to answer for themselves. In the confusion of this detention, they lost their draughts and letters; their trunks were also broke open, and themselves sent bound to the ambassador at Achen.

This manœuvre shews that his Achenese Majesty was not deficient in political craft, an art, which an honest mind disdains, and a bad mind cannot always practise with success. It may be sometimes necessary; but it never can be honourable.

The

The summer being now pretty far advanced, it was time for Lancaster to put to sea ; but at the very moment when he meditated this, he was informed, that the ambassador had obtained leave of departure from the king. On this he attended court, and requested the honour of an audience, which being granted, the king demanded his errand. The admiral, after making general acknowledgments of his majesty's beneficence, said, he was emboldened to ask one favour more, which was, that he would detain the Portuguese ambassador, who he understood was about to take leave, for the space of ten days, that he might be able to sail before him, and anticipate his schemes. The king promised he would indulge him in this too ; but, as a recompence, he desired he would bring him a Portuguese maiden on his return to Achen.

The admiral now took leave ; and three ships being ready, it was resolved immediately to set sail. The captain of a Dutch vessel, of about two hundred tons, which lay in the roads, offered to take a part in the adventure. To this the admiral agreed, and promised him an eighth of the value of the captures. Meanwhile the Ascension was to stay at Achen, to complete her lading.

After the departure of the English, the Portuguese ambassador shewed much uneasiness and a wish to be gone ; but the king, on various pretexts, refused signing his passport for more than three weeks ; and even then expressed his wonder that he should be in such haste, since the English commander was at sea, who, being strongest, might do him an injury, if they should meet. Nettled at this pointed reflection, the ambassador
replied,

replied, that he depended on the swiftness of his vessel, and defied all the force of the English. The king, apparently satisfied of his safety, and reconciled to his departure, granted him his dispatch.

Cruising near the Straights of Malacca, on the 3d of October, the *Hector* observed a sail, on which directions were given to extend the line, lest she should escape them in the dark. The *Hector* at length came up with her; and, after a short engagement, she struck. This vessel proved to be of nine hundred tons burden, and was bound from the Bay of Bengal for Malacca. She had more than six hundred persons on board, men, women, and children. Her cargo consisted of nine hundred and fifty packs of calicoes and pintadoes, a great quantity of rice, and other valuable commodities. The best part of the lading being taken out and transferred on board the English ships, as a storm was arising, the admiral returned the ship to her commander, and sent all her men on board.

The admiral again visited the port of Achen, where he found the merchants highly satisfied with the king's behaviour to them, during his absence. As a testimony of his gratitude, the admiral, therefore, selected such of the prize goods as he imagined would be more particularly acceptable to his majesty, and presented them at his first audience at court. The king received this mark of Lancaster's homage; and expressed the pleasure he felt at his success against the Portuguese; but, in a good-humoured way, told the admiral he had forgot the Portuguese maid, the most important business he had recommended to his care. Lancaster apologized for this neglect, by

observing, that he had met with none worthy of the distinguished honour of being introduced to his majesty.

All the spices to be procured here being scarcely sufficient to complete the lading of the *Ascension*, and as no more could be expected till next year, the admiral determined to sail for Bantam, where he was informed he should find a good vent for his commodities, and pepper at a cheaper rate than at Achen.

But before his departure he waited on his majesty, with whom he had a long conference, and from whom he received an Arabic letter for Elizabeth; to be accompanied with a present of three pieces of cloth of gold, and a ring set with a ruby of the finest lustre. The admiral was likewise presented with a ruby ring.

A curious circumstance happened as Lancaster was about to take leave. We have seen that the King of Achen was not deficient in wit; but of his religion we have said nothing. As the admiral was going from court, he asked him if the English had the Psalms of David among them? To which he answered, that they had, and sang them daily. Then said the king, I and my nobles will sing a psalm to God for your prosperity. On this they struck up, to the astonishment of the English, who were present. Having finished the staves, the king in his turn requested the admiral, and his party, would favour him with a psalm in their language, which desire was immediately complied with.

This done they parted, his majesty giving them his benediction, and wishing them success and a safe return to their own country; adding, that the English should always meet with the same kind

kind reception, that they had hitherto experienced.

On the 9th of November they left Achen, the admiral dispatching the *Ascension* for England direct, with letters; while the rest of the squadron proceeded to Bantam. On arriving at Priaman, where the *Susan* had been sent to take in a lading, they found she had procured six hundred bahars of pepper, and sixty-six of cloves. Here pepper was cheaper than at Achen, though none grew in the vicinity of the town, but was brought down, at the distance of eight or ten leagues, from the country. Priaman, indeed, produced no other commodity than gold dust, which was separated from the sands of the river. It was, however, a place well adapted for refreshment; and, though within a few minutes of the line, the air was pleasant and salubrious.

The admiral having taken in provisions, and left orders for the captain of the *Susan* to hasten her lading, and then depart for England, sailed on the 4th of November towards Bantam. On the 15th he made the Straights of Sunda; and next day anchored at Bantam. He now dispatched Captain Middleton to acquaint the king, that he was arrived there by order of the Queen of England, from whom he brought a letter and a message; and requested that his majesty would allow him a safe conduct.

The king answered, that he was glad of his coming; and immediately commissioned one of his nobles to accompany Middleton to the ships, and bring the admiral back with him. Lancaster being introduced at court, found the king was a child of ten or eleven years of age, sitting surrounded by his nobles. The admiral paid his

respects in the usual mode of the country, on which the king bid him welcome; and after some discourse, the queen's letter was produced and delivered to his majesty, together with the intended presents. These were received with apparent pleasure; and on matters of business, the admiral was referred to one of the nobles, who then acted in capacity of protector.

After some time spent in promiscuous conversation, the protector invited Lancaster to land his men, assuring them that they might buy and sell in perfect security, and without the least fear of molestation.

So quick was the supply of pepper, that by the 10th of February 1603, the ships were fully laden, and ready for sea. In the mean while, Captain Middleton of the *Hector*, a man of tried courage and conduct, fell sick; and departed this life after a short illness, to the great regret of the whole fleet.

Lancaster, on the eve of departure from Bantam, ordered the pinnace to be laden with commodities, and putting twelve men on board her with some merchants, sent her to trade and establish a factory at the Moluccas. At Bantam he left eight men and three factors, to sell the goods left in store; and to provide a lading for future ships. Then going to court, he received a letter and presents for Queen Elizabeth. The latter chiefly consisted of bezoar stones; one of which was reserved for his own acceptance, together with a Java dagger. Thus matters ended prosperously in the Indies; and owing to the humane and prudent conduct of Lancaster, we find none of that jealousy and misunderstanding which

which attended the first efforts of the Portuguese to establish themselves in the East.

But now their prospects began to grow dark, when the thoughts of returning to their native land must have inspired every breast with pleasure. On the 20th of February, they left Bantam, and after encountering a succession of storms, on the 3d of May, the sea beat with such violence on the quarter of the admiral's ship, as to loosen the iron-work of the rudder, which next morning fell off, and sunk. The terror and consternation of the crew was now at the greatest height; the most skilful mariners confessed their ignorance of the means of retrieving this misfortune; and the less experienced stood aghast. In this tempestuous sea, the ship now drove up and down like a wreck with the winds and waves: she was sometimes within a few leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, sometimes she was forced into the icy latitudes of the south, where cold increased the calamity they could not remove. Amid all these changes of situation, the Hector assiduously attended the admiral, ready to administer all the assistance in their power, and seeming to participate in the admiral's misfortune from a real affection for his person. Of so much consequence it is for a superior, on any reverse of fortune, to be beloved! That kind attention, which is shewn to the unfortunate, is a thousand times more grateful than the supple complaisance which power can command, even in its happiest hours.

After trying a variety of expedients to extricate themselves from this deplorable condition, they were convinced that unless they could make and hang a new rudder, they must perish in

these stormy seas. How to perform this task in such a dangerous part of the ocean, they were at a loss to know; but necessity, the mother of invention, obliged them to try all possible means. At last a rudder was formed out of the mizen-mast, and with the greatest difficulty was fastened on to the irons which the shock had left.

This being accomplished, they proceeded on their course for a few hours, when a heavy sea again took it off, with the loss of another iron; and the rudder itself had nearly sunk. Despair now appeared in its most hideous form; and the men became impatient to quit the ship, and go on board the *Hector*; but this the admiral opposed by every argument in his power; and with a composure, which marks him as one of the greatest men that ever was employed on such an enterprise, he retired to his cabin, and wrote a letter to his employers, expressive of his forlorn situation, which he ordered the *Hector* to carry; and to leave him to his fate. This he studiously concealed from his men, lest the disappointment of their views might have rendered them desperate.

This letter and his instructions being conveyed on board the *Hector*, the admiral expected she would have made sail from them in the night, but on the morrow he found her still in sight, and she never got more ahead than two or three leagues. The captain, from a sincere regard to the admiral, could not support the thought of leaving him in such distress; and while he seemed to comply with his desires in keeping at a distance, he was unwilling to abandon him, while a hope remained of his being useful.

At

At last, despair gave new resolution, and the weather seemed to grow milder for their preservation. The rudder was again repaired, and the sea being smooth, with a prospect of their being able to proceed, the admiral made a signal to the *Hector* to join, and by the assistance of her crew, the helm was so well secured, that they began to entertain hopes of being able to reach a port.

Perceiving that they had failed to a higher latitude than the Cape of Good Hope, they directed their course for the Island of St. Helena, which, to the inexpressible joy of the whole fleet, they reached on the 16th of June. On landing, they recognized many writings, by which they understood, that the Carracks had left this place only eight days before. While they staid here, they repaired the ships; and by a due attention to the health of the sick, and the help of such refreshments as the island supplied, they soon began to recover. Indeed, they had been reduced to the last distress in every respect; as they had been beating in the ocean without a sight of land for the tedious space of three months.

On the 5th of July they again set sail; and steering north-west, passed the Isle of Ascension, a barren spot, destitute of inhabitants, water, and safe anchorage; but having its shores prolific in fish.

On the 19th they crossed the line, and in ten days had a sight of the Island of Fuego. Here they were becalmed for five days, and afterwards met with contrary winds. However, on the 7th of September, they came into soundings in the channel; and, without any farther accident, anchored safe in the Downs.

Such

Such was the conclusion of the first voyage of the English to the East Indies, under the sanction of a charter ; and from the review of the whole, we may affirm, that the conduct of the principals in the expedition was honourable to themselves and their country. No steps seem to have been taken, no design formed of encroaching on the rights of the natives : the pursuit of trade was the only object ; and happy would it have been for the nations of Europe, if they could have been satisfied with the profits of a fair traffic, and never been misled by the ignis fatuus of conquest !

VOYAGE

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VOYAGE OF
CAPTAIN WILLIAM KEELING,
TO
BANTAM AND BANDA.

IT is not within the limits of our plan, to detail every voyage made by our countrymen to the East Indies: a few of the most important original ones are all that can be expected.

After the return of Captain Lancaster, we find Captain Henry Middleton was sent out with four ships in the spring 1604. Falling in with the Dutch, who were carrying on war against the Portuguese at Amboyna, while the country powers espoused different sides, it appears that he rendered essential services to the Hollanders, for which they made a very ungrateful return. In short, the other nations of Europe, though hostile to each other, viewed the settlement of the English in India with much jealousy, and did them all the injury in their power. That black ingratitude, which has characterised the Dutch to the present times, seems early to have displayed itself to the English. Nevertheless, in this expedition, very friendly letters were procured from the Kings of Ternate, Tydore, and Bantam, to James I. who had then ascended the British throne; with which, and a moderate lading, the ships returned to England.

Towards

Towards the close of the same year that Middleton's expedition failed, we find Sir Edward Michelburne proceeding to Bantam, with two ships and a pinnace: but though he belonged to the East India Company, it appears that the voyage was not undertaken on their account. He met with much opposition, and very indifferent success; but, after various calamities, reached England in 1606.

The next voyage on record is that of Captain Keeling, which we mean to relate. This gentleman was appointed admiral of a squadron, consisting of the Dragon, his flag ship; the Hector, William Hawkins, vice-admiral; and the Consent, Captain David Middleton.

On the 1st of April 1607, the Dragon and Hector had proceeded as far the Downs; after their departure from thence, they had to contend with various disasters. In the beginning of June they passed the line; but soon after, by alternate gusts and calms, and other marine inconveniences, were forced to return to the northward. Sickness too began to overtake them; and by the 30th of July, they were in such distress, that some of them were of opinion they must relinquish the voyage. The admiral making several ineffectual attempts to reach the Isle of Fernando de Loronha, where they might procure water, of which they stood in the greatest need, called a council of his officers; when it was the general voice, that they should stand for Sierra Leona. On the 4th of August they came into soundings, but without a sight of land; however, next day they had this agreeable prospect; but found themselves entangled on the shoals of St. Anne, the water deepening and shallowing almost every cable's

cable's length. On reaching the shore, they soon perceived some of the natives, who beckoned them to land; and the admiral taking two hostages, sent off his boat, which soon returned with four negroes, who promised refreshments. After various delays, and sending more men up the country, they procured some lemons and fish. Some pieces of gold were exchanged by the natives for iron and cutlery; but in their present exigency, gold was less desirable than food.

The men who had proceeded some leagues up the country, reported that the inhabitants were peaceable, and that the chief lived without state. A party again went on shore, to try if they could kill an elephant; but though they lodged several bullets in one, the animal escaped. Taking in a supply of limes and oranges, and such slender refreshments as the place afforded, they again set sail, and on the 17th of December saw the Table of Saldanna. At that time, the whole company being sick, were desirous of putting in here, and about noon anchored in the road.

Here the admiral observed these words engraved on the rock, "Captain David Middleton, in the 'Content, July 24th 1607.'" This was one of the ships intended for the expedition; but missing her consorts at the place of rendezvous, she proceeded alone. At Saldanna they trafficked several days for sheep and bullocks, of which they procured a tolerable supply.

Proceeding on their voyage, near latitude 24 deg. they again approached the coast; and steered into a bay, the estuary of a large river. A boat was sent on shore; but though several traces of the natives were discovered, none of them were visible. However, a few beads and other trifles were

were left in a canoe, to allure them to a visit. Water was immediately laid in; but they had still to seek for provisions. A few days after, having espied four of the inhabitants, the admiral sent them some presents; and by signs they promised to bring store of cattle on the morrow. However, only a few were sent down, and these were charged exorbitantly dear. The natives were unwilling to part with them for any thing but silver. They seemed a subtle and avaricious people. Here one of the crew of the *Hector* was dangerously wounded by an alligator.

Keeling again set sail, and after a very dangerous and difficult navigation, on the 23d of June, saw some islands in the vicinity of the line. Soon after they entered Priaman road, and saluted the town with five pieces of ordnance. The governor sent a present of a goat to the admiral, for which he made an adequate return. Soon after an inhabitant of Achen came on board, and held a conversation in Arabic; the result of which seemed to promise a beneficial trade. On the 29th the commander went on shore, under the discharge of seven pieces of cannon, and repairing to the governor's house, was presented with a buffalo, and referred to several commissioners, who were to settle the price of pepper. With these the admiral had numberless difficulties and disputes, which generally terminated in favour of the natives. One night, while they lay here, a person who spoke Portuguese, endeavoured to spirit up the admiral to take the town, the spoils of which were to be divided betwixt them; but Keeling having no instructions of this nature, and knowing the artifice of the

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Moors, wisely declined the scheme, and sent the projector on shore.

The chief, who is subject to the King of Achen, purchased cloth to the amount of one hundred and fifty-nine masses of gold. The whole district of Priaman does not yield more than five hundred bahars of pepper yearly; but, including its dependencies, enough may be purchased to load two ships every season.

Leaving this place, they sailed for Bantam, and anchoring in the road, found six Dutch ships, two of which were almost laden with cloves, and two more had engaged a cargo of pepper. Thirteen Englishmen were alive, of whom two were merchants. Here a letter was received from Captain David Middleton. Having expedited the business of his voyage, it was the intention of the admiral to return with the Dragon to England, which he signified in a council of his merchants, whom he consulted in regard to future proceedings.

The ambassador of Siam, at Bantam, anxious to push the interests of his country, came on board the Dragon, and dined with the admiral. He represented that one thousand pieces of scarlet cloth might be sold at Siam in a few days; and that gold, ivory, and jewels were to be had in return. He farther observed, that his master would esteem it a happiness to enter into a commercial treaty with so great a prince as the King of England, to whom he understood the King of Holland was not to be compared.

On the 25th of December, Keeling took his leave of the King of Bantam, and soon after a letter and some presents for King James were dispatched on board. Soon after they sail-

ed from this port, they discovered a sail which proved to be the *Hector*, from Surat, by which they understood that the Portuguese had captured eighteen English vessels, with goods to a great amount.

Several circumstances conspired to render a return to Bantam advisable; and, accordingly, they anchored again in the road on the 14th. Two days after, a Flemish vessel arrived with news of the peace between Spain, France, and the Netherlands; the object of which intelligence was, to make the Dutch drop their design against the Moluccas. Keeling removed into the *Hector*; and on the 23d the *Dragon* left Bantam, while the admiral purposed to proceed to the Moluccas.

After various impediments in their intended course, they arrived in the harbour of Banda, where the natives and Dutch came to welcome the commander. His majesty's letter and some presents were delivered to the king, who observed great state, and took a day to consider about the proposal of settling a factory. The request being granted, the Dutch affected great civility; but it plainly appeared, that all their aims were to supplant the British.

A factory was afterwards established at Pulo-way; but here, too, the chicanery of the Dutch was exerted to injure and distress them. In the mean while that nation invaded Banda, and the English were involved in many difficulties, which it would be tedious to relate. The Dutch, indeed, assumed not only a controlling power over the natives, but also to search and regulate the intercourse of the English. However, they were not able to prevail to the full extent of their

wishes; and Keeling having established his factory at Bantam, and obtained a pretty good loading of oriental products, resolved to put to sea, on his return to England. After a variety of incidents, of little consequence, they arrived in the Downs about the middle of May 1609.

We will now relate the principal occurrences in the voyage of Captain David Middleton, who never joined the Squadron to which he was to have been attached.

Middleton's ship was the *Consent* of one hundred and fifty tons; and she sailed from the *Hope* on the 12th of March 1606. On the 17th of July he anchored in the Bay of Saldanna, with his men all in good health; which may be partially ascribed to the quickness of his voyage. Visiting Penguin Island, in the vicinity of the bay, they saw the most amazing numbers of seals and penguins. Having bought some cattle and refreshed, the captain left Saldanna with a notification of the time he had touched there, in case his admiral should land here, and whom he was disappointed in not finding; but the uncertainty of the time and place of rendezvous, induced him to proceed without delay.

On the 30th of August, he anchored in the Bay of St. Augustine, near Madagascar. Here they took in wood and water, and some cattle; but met with nothing worthy remark. With little variety of occurrence, they had a prosperous voyage to Bantam, where they anchored on the 14th of November; and had the pleasure to find the factory in health and prosperity.

Having taken on board what cargo was intended for them, and transacted all the necessary business at Bantam, they sailed for the Moluccas,

where they arrived the beginning of January 1607. Some weeks were spent here in mutual entertainments between them, the Spaniards, and the native princes. It was requisite for the English, to have a particular permission from the Spaniards to trade at this place; and though that was publicly delayed for some time, a clandestine commerce was carried on by night, and the day was generally spent in conviviality. At last an open trade was allowed; but, in a short time, again countermanded, and the ship ordered to depart. Having been pretty successful in obtaining a cargo, this command was the less felt. On the 23d of March they entered the Straights of Bengaya, where the captain intended to take in water. An Indian, in his proa, coming up to the ship, as they approached the land, undertook to conduct them to the watering place, which he accordingly did. Here the islanders, in more than one hundred proas, soon came with fish, poultry and hogs, plantains, cassada roots, and various fruits, which they freely parted with for coarse cloth and China ware. Soon after the king and the captain interchanged presents; and not satisfied with this, his majesty sent his own brother to express the desire he felt to come on board to visit the English, of whom he had heard much, but never seen any. The captain made a suitable reply; that he should esteem the king's company an honour; and it was not long before his majesty arrived in a vessel rowed by one hundred oars, carrying six brass guns, and manned by upwards of four hundred persons. Five more vessels, of little inferior magnitude and force, were in the train. The surgeon of the ship being given as a pledge of security, his majesty instantly

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stantly came on board, and was courteously entertained; and seemed to relish his fare, particularly sweetmeats.

Captain Middleton now interrogated the king respecting the produce of his country. His majesty answered, that he had pearl, tortoise-shells, and cotton cloth to sell; but as he came hither only on a party of pleasure, he was not then provided with any articles to vend. However, if the captain would proceed to the town, which was no more than a day and a night's sailing from thence, he might see great quantities of pearl and other commodities; adding that, as the navigation was unknown to the English, he would send a pilot to conduct them.

The captain and factors, having taken this kind offer into consideration, agreed to accept it; and presented the king with a musket and a sword. His majesty observed, that this interview being accidental, he had nothing about him worthy the captain's acceptance; but that he would requite his kindness before his departure. The king then took his leave; and soon after the promised pilot was sent on board.

Notwithstanding the attention of the king to facilitate this short expedition, the voyage, through various impediments, took up more than double the time expected. They were frequently obliged to drop anchor, and, at one of these halting places, the purser having gone on shore, was conducted to another country prince, who was carousing with his nobles in a room hung round with the heads of men slain in war. As this was the first Englishman the chief had ever seen, he treated him with much honour, and

expressed his satisfaction at having met with him.

At last they came to an anchor near the town of the inviting king, who soon came off in great state, with not less than forty caricols, a kind of country vessel, and rowed round the ship. The captain complimented him with a volley of muskets and all the ordnance; then ordering his long boat to be manned, he proceeded with his majesty up to the town.

The king seemed incapable of expressing his sensations of pleasure, or of shewing them so much as he wished. He declared that his breast was now at rest; since he had seen the English; and that he would do them all the services which lay in his power.

Captain Middleton had the honour of dining with his majesty, who apologized for the homely manners of the country. The meat was served up in large wooden platters, covered with cloth; and abundance, rather than delicacies, marked the entertainment. The drink was very pleasant; and mirth and hospitality went round. The king and his relations several times came on board the *Consent*; and a valuable cargo of cloves and other articles being procured here, the captain took his leave of this kind people, with a salute to the king on setting sail, and proceeded for Bantam.

On the 22d of May they arrived in that port, where they found only one European vessel; but there were several junks from China richly laden.

After a stay at Bantam for nearly two months, during which they were actively engaged in completing their arrangements with the factory, and laying in their final stores and supplies, they

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took their leave of the merchants, and set sail for England direct, where they arrived in safety after a long and tedious voyage, but less distinguished for misadventures than almost any preceding one. It seemed, indeed, to have been matter of constant regret to Middleton, that he could not join his convoy; but, perhaps, his superior success was occasioned by his sailing alone. Fleets are exposed to numerous dangers and difficulties, from which single ships are exempt.

The same Captain Middleton performed another voyage to Java and Banda, on which he set out in April 1609. The relation of this expedition is rendered uncommonly tiresome, by the petty squabbles that took place between this officer and the Dutch, who, even at that early period, shewed a determined resolution to monopolize the spices of the East. Middleton, however, had a prosperous voyage, and returned with a valuable cargo, in spite of opposition.

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VOYAGE OF
SIR HENRY MIDDLETON,
TO THE
RED SEA AND SURAT.

THE name of Middleton is distinguished among the early voyages to the East. In the present unfortunate expedition, three ships were employed: the Trade's Increase, of one thousand tons, admiral, Sir Henry Middleton; the Pepper Corn, of two hundred and fifty tons, Nicholas Downton, commander; and the Darling, of ninety tons. A victualler of one hundred and eighty tons, named the Samuel, attended them.

On the 1st of May 1610, the squadron came to an anchor in the road of Cape Verd, where they found a Frenchman equipping a small pinnace. On examination, the main-mast of the admiral's ship was found in such a decayed state, that had they experienced any severe weather, it must have gone by the board. The alcade, who came to visit the admiral, having given permission to cut down trees, they set about refitting the mast, and other repairs; and began to unlade the Samuel, which they afterwards dismissed.

On the 15th they prepared to depart; and having consulted what course was best, it was agreed

agreed on to pass the line direct, and then stretch to the eastward. Entering the road of Saldanna on the 24th of July, they saluted the Dutch admiral with five guns; which compliment was returned. The admiral landing, perceived memorials left by Captain Keeling and others. Among the rest was a notification of his brother, Captain David Middleton, who had sailed the preceding year. This gentleman had also left a letter, which was buried under ground, according to agreement, before he left England; but the writing was wholly obliterated by the damp. On the 26th they erected a tent for the reception of the sick; and landed the entire crews, on purpose to air the ships. From this time nothing particular occurred during their stay.

On the 6th of September they anchored in St. Augustine's Bay, where they found the Union in great distress for want of provisions. Next day the admiral went on shore in the pinnace, to examine the country; but could meet with no supplies, save of wood and water. Soon after, they fell in with currents and unfavourable winds. Touching at Zocotra, they amused themselves in fishing, and then proceeded to Tamerin, the principal place in the island. This town stands at the bottom of some high, rugged hills. The road is partly open, but affords good anchorage. A messenger was dispatched with presents to the king, who received him with respect, and promised his zealous assistance.

Next day the admiral landing with the chief merchants, and a guard of armed men, was conducted to the king's palace. The prince met him at the chamber door, and seating him in a chair, after reciprocal compliments, they dis-

coursed

coursed on the trade of the Red Sea. The king gave a favourable account of the people of Aden and Mocha, and observed that they would be happy to trade with the English. On this Sir Henry was desirous of setting up his pinnace; but the king refused permission to do this in the road where the ships then lay, though he pointed out another place: he confessed he was apprehensive, if the admiral tarried too long at Tamerin, the merchants of other nations would be afraid or unwilling to resort thither; which rendered him averse to any business that could protract their stay. He however gave free leave to take in water, as a mark of his royal bounty; for it appeared other nations paid for it. Wood, he informed them, would cost very dear.

This island abounds in aloes, the best in the world; but it seems the father of this prince, who was sovereign of Fartaque, in Arabia Felix, had engrossed the last crop of that drug; and his Zocotarine Majesty dissuaded the admiral from attempting to trade with him, as he did not apprehend it would be allowed.

Steering along the coast, they saw high land, and soon anchored before a town encompassed with a stone-wall, and defended by forts and bulwarks. A small boat with three Arabs came on board, with a commission from the governor, to enquire what nation they were of; and if English, to bid them welcome. It seems that a Captain Sharpey had been on the same coast the year before, and had given the natives a favourable opinion of the British character and conduct.

One of the messengers being asked the name and disposition of the bathaw, made answer that he was called Jaffer Bathaw; that his predecessor

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for was very bad, and this man was little better: in short, that all the Turks were worthless. In regard to trade, the same Arab gave a more agreeable account; assuring the admiral that there was a merchant in the town who would purchase all his lading.

On this Sir Henry sent the pinnace ashore with one of the factors, to procure a pilot for Mocha. The English were kindly entertained; but the townsmen, wishing to keep all the trade to themselves, refused a pilot, unless three merchants were left as hostages for his safe return. The admiral seeing their object, prepared to set sail, on which the inhabitants requested he would leave one of his ships, at least, to traffic with them; and in compliance with this demand, the Pepper Corn was suffered to remain.

Sir Henry proceeded in the two other ships for Mocha, but was much incommoded by the want of proper pilots. After passing the Straights of Babelmandel, two Arabs were procured, who pretended to be very skilful in this navigation; but unfortunately they soon ran the Trade's Increase on a sand bank. As the wind blew hard, and the sea was considerably agitated, they began to fear that she could not be got off. In a short time, a boat arrived with a message from the governor, desiring to know their country and business; adding, that if English, they were heartily welcome, and that they would find a ready vent for their goods. As to the ship's being aground, these people said it ought not to excite alarm, being very usual with large vessels in that sea, though seldom much damage was sustained.

The same messenger returned next day with several companions, and a small present from the

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aga, with compliments and assurances to the admiral that he should be well treated, and enjoy as free a trade as in any part of the Turkish dominions.

The first care was to lighten the vessel, by sending some goods on shore, and with them went Mr. Femel, a merchant, who soon sent back an account of the favourable reception he had met with, and the terms on which the trade was to be conducted. The ship was now afloat; and the admiral being pressed both by the aga and Femel to come on shore for the better convenience of trading, complied with their solicitations; and, on his landing, was received by several persons of distinction, and conducted to the aga's palace. Here he experienced every testimony of respect, and was introduced to the principal persons of the place. The aga seated Sir Henry by him, the rest standing, and loaded him with compliments and welcomes. The admiral delivered the king's letter with a present to the bashaw, and likewise made some acknowledgments to the aga, which were thankfully received. This officer again made professions of his firm support; and that the English should be protected from molestation and wrong. After this he caused one of his principal attendants to dress the admiral in a vest of crimson silk and silver; adding that he need be under no apprehension, as he was under the protection of the Grand Signior.

Middleton on taking leave was mounted on a fine horse, richly caparisoned, and conducted to the house intended for his residence. Here he dined; and the aga being very importunate with him to stay on shore, he yielded to the apparent kind request.

Day by day the aga sent either presents or civil messages to the admiral, desiring to know if he was well treated, or if he wanted any thing. On the 28th of November he redoubled his attentions, and acquainted Sir Henry that the season of fasting being nearly expired, he hoped soon to enjoy more of his company in excursions round the country. Same afternoon a gentleman from the ship having supped with the admiral, and intending to return on board, was refused permission by the Turks, on pretence that it was too late. The admiral interceded, but in vain. However, he imagined that this restraint arose from an excess of caution, and still was unsuspicious of harm. Next day, while Sir Henry was enjoying the fresh air at the door of his house, in company with Mr. Femel and a Mr. Pemberton, a janizary came from the aga, the purport of whose message was, that his master wished them to be of good cheer, as he had received good news from the bashaw. At this instant a servant belonging to Sir Henry, running up in a great fright, exclaimed, they were all betrayed; for that the Turks and the English, on shore, were fighting behind the house. All was now confusion; and while the admiral was exerting himself to get his men under shelter, he was knocked down by a person who attacked him behind, and remained insensible, till the pain, occasioned by tying his hands behind his back, brought him to life and recollection. As soon as the Turks perceived that he was revived, they supported him to the aga's, where he had the concern to find several of his company in the same condition. By the way he was plundered of his money and some gold rings. Those who had escaped the massacre

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were loaded with irons ; the admiral with seven more were yoked by the neck in one chain, after being separately secured by the hands and feet ; and two soldiers were left to guard them.

On enquiring into the circumstances of this melancholy affair, Sir Henry found that armed soldiers had surrounded the house, and fallen on the English, while perfectly unsuspecting and defenceless ; that eight were killed outright, and fourteen now present much wounded.

This treacherous conduct in the aga was only the prelude to what he farther intended. His object was, after securing the persons of the English, who had trusted to their hospitality on shore, to secure the ships also. For this purpose, the Turks armed three boats with one hundred and fifty soldiers, and rowed up to the Darling, which lay near the shore. That they might pass for Christians, they laid aside their turbans ; and before the crew of the Darling could discover their danger, most of the Turks got on board. Three of the English were killed on the first onset : the rest retired to places of security, and prepared for resistance. By some mistake several of the Turks leaped into the ship's boat, and cutting the cables, fell down with the current. By this time the crew of the Darling began to recover from their consternation, and to be furnished with arms : some of them threw a barrel of gunpowder and a fire-brand among the thickest of the assailants ; others laid trains of powder, and fired musketry, which so terrified the Turks, lest they should be blown up, that many leaped into the sea and were drowned ; the rest were dispatched on board. Only one man was saved,

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who,

who, concealing himself till the carnage was over, obtained mercy.

The boat returning to the town, brought the joyful news that the ship was taken; for we have observed, that as soon the vessel was boarded, a party suffered themselves to be waisted along by the current from the scene of action. This intelligence diffused universal joy over the town; but what was the surprize of the Turks, when they hastened to the spot where the ship used to ride, and found her under sail! They now ran to inform the aga that the ship had escaped; and that they verily believed the Emirsal Bahr, or lord of the sea, and all his men, were taken prisoners. The aga, however, had given intimation to the admiral that the small ship was taken, which he believed might be the fact. Soon after sun rise, this unfortunate officer was carried with his seven yoke-fellows before the aga, who dropping all his former finesse, sternly asked him how he dared to enter the port of Mocha. Sir Henry replied, that the cause of his coming was no secret, and that he did not land but with his own entire permission, and after many pressing invitations. The aga insisted that it was not lawful for any Christian to approach their holy city, to which Mocha was the key; and that the bashaw had it in exprefs orders, from the Grand Signior, to make slaves of every Christian who should presume to enter those seas, even with his own pass. The admiral repeated, that it was not his wish to transgress, but that he was trepanned under fair pretences of good usage.

The aga then shewed him a letter from Captain Dounton at Aden, which had fallen into his hands.

hands. It conveyed the disagreeable news, that two of his merchants and the purser were detained on shore, nor could he obtain their release but on condition of paying one thousand five hundred venetianos for anchorage, and requested Sir Henry's advice how to acquit himself in this unpleasant business.

The aga enquired into the purport of this letter, which being freely communicated, the Turk informed him, that the ship had proceeded from Aden to Mocha, but was lost in her passage with all the men and goods.

The aga then desired that the admiral would write, to know how many Turks were on board the small vessel; adding, that she was once in their possession, but had been rescued by the large ship; which information in some measure compensated for the other disagreeable intelligence, which Sir Henry had received. But the aga now went a step farther; he insisted on the admiral's writing to his officers to deliver up the large ship, promising that he should have the small one to carry him home; and threatened, in case of refusal, his head should be struck off. The admiral replied with firmness, that he might dispose of him as he pleased, since life was now become a burden; but that he would not write as directed, or if he did, it would be nugatory; since his men were not such simpletons as to obey the commands of an officer in confinement, nor would they tamely surrender themselves for slaves.

The aga finding it impossible to prevail, caused Sir Henry to be separated from the rest, and loaded with fetters and manacles. He was then lodged under a pair of stairs, in a miserable hole; but on the entreaties of a person of some huma-

nity and influence, was soon accommodated with a better room; though still the hard ground was his bed, a stone his pillow, and the rats his companions.

The aga's lieutenant and the drugoman came at midnight, and in soothing terms requested the admiral would procure them information of the names and numbers of the Turks who were prisoners on board the ship, but to conceal his own misfortunes, and even to pretend that he was well used. Part of this request he complied with, but at the same time conveyed a hint to be on their guard. This gave the crew the pleasing certainty that their commander was still alive; and the return was, as before stated, that all the Turks were either killed or drowned, save one.

Various expedients were tried to shake the resolution of the admiral, and he continued in great distress, without any knowledge of the fate of his ships, till the 15th of December. Indeed those on ship board experienced many difficulties from adverse winds and shoals, and even their water began to fail. Besides, they were distracted to know what course they ought to pursue; and as all communication was cut off with the shore, it was at last proposed to find one of their number, who would venture to procure them some intelligence respecting their companions.

One John Chambers, a man of undaunted courage, agreed to go on this hazardous expedition, and to liberate his associates from their doubt and perplexity, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, on the 15th of December, he was landed on a small island near the town, with a flag of truce, together with an Indian interpreter. Being brought before the aga, he was interrogated

terrogated how he dared to land without permission. He answered that he came under the sanction of a flag of truce, with a letter to the commander, and was anxious to know, with the aga's good pleasure, the situation of his countrymen. After a strict examination, he was conducted to the admiral's cell, which was almost perfectly dark, and delivered his letter with a degree of feeling which does honour to human nature. He shed tears at the sight of so much distress, and, on being told that it was feared the Turks would not permit him to return on board, he said he came with a resolution to share his commander's sufferings, if he was not allowed to serve him in a more effectual way. The aga had intercepted some few necessaries which had been sent for the use of the admiral; and thought he had shewn great lenity, in permitting an interview between him and the messenger. Chambers, finding it impossible to relieve the commander from his present misery, was requested to leave him, and fortunately got on board again.

When hope was almost extinct, it began to revive again. An aga arrived from Zenan with orders to bring up the English, and immediately visited the admiral and his companions in captivity. This officer made the same observations and attempts as have been previously mentioned, and met with the same intrepid answers. On asking the admiral whether he did not know that the Grand Signior's sword was long? Sir Henry replied, that he had not sunk under the sword but treachery; and that if he and his people were on board, he did not value their power. The aga said, it was proudly spoken; and again urged him to write a letter, commanding his men

to

to come on shore, and surrender themselves to the bashaw ; but in vain.

The Turkish officer then informed Sir Henry, that he came with express orders from the bashaw, to conduct him and his people to Zenan, and advised him to procure warm clothing from on board, as the air of the mountains was sharp and piercing. The admiral entreated, that if possible his men might be permitted to return to the ship, and that he and a few more might undertake this journey. The aga observed, that it was not in his power to grant this request ; however, another officer interposing, it was agreed on that the admiral and five more should appear before the bashaw ; and that the rest should remain in captivity till farther orders. On the 20th Captain Dounton, in the Pepper Corn, to the agreeable surprize of the English, came into the road from Aden, to whom Sir Henry was allowed to write with freedom.

The irons being knocked off, it was at last determined that the admiral and thirty-four more should proceed to Zenan ; the carpenters, smiths, and some sick men alone being left behind. Sir Henry and Mr. Femel were indulged with horses ; the rest of the party rode on asses. About ten at night, while they were twelve miles distant from Mocha, Mr. Pemberton found means to slip away, and was not missed till next day. Mr. Pemberton was moved to this desperate attempt, from the dread of perpetual slavery, or death.

A brave man, struggling with unmerited distress, will always interest some among the most obdurate hearts. Sir Henry found several friends who advised him not to be dejected, and supplied him and his men with temporary relief on the journey.

journey, The consul of the Bannians, whose good offices had commenced at Mocha, and who was now travelling to Zenan, visited the English admiral every day, and assured him of his zealous services with the bashaw, which promise he religiously kept.

The journey to Zenan was extremely unpleasant. The aga rode in triumph, as a conqueror, and the English were considered as captives taken in war. They lay on the bare ground at night, part of the way, and suffered extremely from the cold. In fifteen days they reached Zenan, which though little beyond the tropic, is frequently visited with frosts of an intenseness which could scarcely be credited in such a latitude. On entering the town, the Turkish soldiers preceded the English, who were disposed of in such a manner as made the greatest possible show. The aga brought up the rear, and assumed the state of a warrior who had subdued his enemies in battle. They proceeded in this style to the castle, through immense crowds; and were received at the first gate by a large body of soldiers. At the second gate were two guns ready mounted; and having passed this, they found themselves in a very spacious court. Here the commander alighted, and was soon conducted before the bashaw, together with Mr. Femel. The bashaw was seated at the upper end of a large gallery, attended by many nobles and officers. Sir Henry was led by two men, who held him by the wrist; and having come within a few feet of the bashaw, was sternly questioned of what country he was, and what was the object of his visiting these regions. The admiral answered, that he was an English merchant, which nation being in amity with the
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Grand Signior, he was induced to come there for the purposes of trade. The bashaw said it was not lawful for any Christian to set his foot in that country; and that he had warned Captain Sharpey, who had formerly trespassed in the same way, to caution his countrymen never more to offend. Sir Henry observed that Captain Sharpey was cast away on the coast of India, and did not live to communicate his Highness's commands; or he would not have brought himself and his men into their present unhappy predicament. He added, that Rejib, Aga of Mocha, had cajoled him by specious professions; and having once got him in his power, had assaulted him and his men with an armed force, and either killed or took the whole prisoners who had trusted to his protection.

The bashaw replied, that Rejib was only his slave, and had acted without his authority in the first instance; and that what had befallen him and his men, was in conformity to an order from the Grand Signior himself. Sir Henry observed, that they had received great damage; and if his Highness would suffer them to depart with their ships, it would be a sufficient warning to his nation in future not to transgress.

The bashaw gave him to understand that he could not grant this permission without the concurrence of his master, to whom he would apply, to know his pleasure respecting them. With this the admiral was dismissed, and with five gentlemen committed to the house of the keeper of the prison, while the rest were heavily ironed, and thrown into the common jail.

The catastrophe of a young man, who was among the captives at this interview, proves the fatal effects of violent fear. This poor fellow, thinking

thinking that the admiral was about to lose his head, when he was so rudely presented to the bashaw, fell into a swoon, and soon after died from mere apprehension.

On the 6th of January, the chiaous, or lieutenant of the kingdom, invited Sir Henry to breakfast, and treated him with much civility. The admiral gave him a full explanation of the treacherous conduct of the Aga of Mocha; on which this officer bid him be of good cheer, and not reflect on the past, which could not be remedied, but indulge the hope that all would yet end well.

Next day the chiaous entertained him and Mr. Femel in his garden, and consoled him with the promise of their speedy discharge, and that all his wrongs at Mocha should be redressed. He assured him also of his particular friendship; and in the presence of many distinguished persons declared, that he was actuated solely by the love of God, to shew him this kindness; but the admiral concluded his views were not quite so pure as he pretended.

Providence however raised them one patron after another; among the rest, a friend of the bashaw, who knowing all the transactions at Mocha, and being satisfied of the blameless conduct of the English, interested himself with the chief in their behalf.

Sir Henry at last having stipulated to pay one thousand five hundred venetianos *, to expedite the business, was afterwards conveyed before the bashaw, who behaved with great affability; and informed him that he should soon be at liberty to

* Six shillings and nine pence each.

return with his men to Mocha, and to proceed with his ships for India. As for the goods seized, they were placed to the account of the Grand Signior, and could not be restored. The bashaw apologized for what had happened, and hoped it would be a caution to other Christian powers not to interfere in the commerce of that country, to the prejudice of the native rights.

The admiral having made his acknowledgments, retired on this occasion; and having taken a future opportunity of paying his respects, met with the same gracious reception and flattering promises. In the meanwhile, many of the English falling sick, the commander did not cease his solicitations for their liberation from prison, which at last he effected.

Being now on the eve of departure, the bashaw gave Sir Henry another solemn warning against any of his countrymen coming into these quarters; and upon his urging the apprehensions he was under from the Aga of Mocha, and wishing to have a letter of protection from the bashaw, that officer proudly replied, is not my word sufficient? If Rejib Aga wrongs you, I will pull his skin over his ears, and give you his head, for he is my slave. After this, the chiaous was commanded to prepare the dispatch, which he executed without delay; and gave the admiral an additional proof of his friendship, by presenting him with one hundred pieces of gold, before he took his leave.

The city of Zenan (or Senaa) is described as being about the extent of Bristol, at the period of this voyage. The houses were built of lime and stone. Wood and water were fetched from a great distance, and therefore very dear. The bashaw resided in the castle, which lies on the east

east side of the town. The house of the keeper of the prison, where Sir Henry was lodged, was contiguous to the city wall; at the foot of which a great number of people, principally women and children, were detained as pledges of the allegiance of their parents and relations. While these victims of jealous despotism were very young, they were suffered to run about; but as they approached to puberty, they were fettered, and removed to a strong tower, there to be kept, at the pleasure of the tyrannical governor.

Previous to his departure, the English commander had procured a letter from his friend, the chiaous, for the purpose of having a young man belonging to Mr. Pemberton delivered up, who was said to have turned Mahometan. But though the youth, instigated by promises and threats, had only apparently changed his religion, and had even received the seal of the Mahometan faith by an act of violence, it was of no avail to plead for his liberation. Having externally embraced the religion of the prophet, it was deemed a profanation to expose him to the power of Christians; and he remained in durance among the Musselmén for some time longer.

After a journey of sixteen days, the English again reached Mocha, and the prospect of meeting their friends on board gave new joy, and cause for reciprocal congratulation. Mr. Pemberton, it appeared, had found means to reach the ship, after deserting the company on their road to Zenan. The Arabs behaved to the strangers with much attention; being themselves ill used by the Turks, they had learned to commiserate the misfortunes of others. Even the perfidious aga, affected a kind and complacent manner, declaring, that he had only

executed the orders of his superiors, which his duty compelled him to do.

Sir Henry judged it prudent to simulate with the dissembler, and listened with seeming satisfaction; but gave little credit to his protestations. He was invited to feasts, and flattered with offers of unsolicited services; but he found himself watched and guarded, and therefore saw no prospect of obtaining his liberty, but by planning a secret escape.

To effect this, the Darling being arrived, the admiral wrote for plenty of liquors and a boat, that he might embrace the first favourable opportunity of coming off in a cask. It fortunately happened that, on the 11th of April, the aga and his chief officers being out on a pleasure party, Sir Henry resolved to put his scheme in practice; and distributing liquors in abundance to his guards, left them in such a state of intoxication, that he was conveyed away in the cask, intended for his reception, and put on board the boat, before his escape was at all suspected. Mr. Femel, however, and some others, being too dilatory in setting out, could not be taken in at the spot agreed on, notwithstanding all the exertions of the commander for this purpose. Indeed, the whole town being speedily alarmed, it was with great difficulty that the boat could escape to the ship: the danger at one moment was most imminent, from Sir Henry's great zeal to rescue his friends, particularly Mr. Femel. That gentleman, after a resolute attempt to regain his freedom, was secured and brought before the aga, together with some others, and threatened with the loss of their heads.

Sir Henry, however, being now in the command of his ships, sent a peremptory message to the aga; that if he injured any of his men, or did not deliver up the stores, he would execute vengeance, by firing the ships in the harbour, and by attempting to batter the town.

This threat, and the probability of its being carried into effect, caused a sensible ferment in Mocha. The aga too, was in personal fear, lest he should lose his own head for neglect; and every person who had acted under him, or been in any respect concerned in the guarding of the English, felt a fear proportioned to the magnitude of his trust.

Next day, an officer came on board the admiral with letters, and expressed his concern for this precipitate step; as, within a few days, Sir Henry and all his men might have enjoyed their liberty without any risk. He added, that the stores should be sent on board; but that an order from the bashaw was necessary to procure a liberation of the men who were still detained. A respite of fifteen days was requested; and if every person was not instantly sent on board, immediately after the expiration of that period, neither mercy nor favour was expected.

The admiral likewise insisted on having the pinnace delivered up within the time specified; but he judged it advisable not to demand restitution of, or compensation for, the goods, till after he had recovered his men.

These terms and demands being reported to the aga, he fell into a rage, particularly in regard to the pinnace. In the meanwhile, a variety of the marine stores, deposited on shore, was daily

sent off, together with trifling presents and refreshments from the aga.

On the 13th the Increase and Pepper Corn anchored in sight of the road, and next morning entered, to the great joy of Sir Henry, who now saw his fleet reunited.

After a number of unimportant transactions and evasions, on the part of the Turks, on the 25th Nakhada Mohammed came to inform the admiral, that the bashaw had signed an order for the release of his men and the pinnace; and promised that they should be restored on the morrow.

On the morrow, however, the same officer returned, saying that the pinnace was launched, but that the aga would neither deliver her or the men, till the admiral had given an assurance under his hand, that he would neither injure nor molest the Turks or their allies, in their persons or property; and that he would demand no restitution of the goods which had been seized, or any compensation for them; which engagement was to be confirmed by oath, and the additional signatures of five of the principal persons on board. Sir Henry expressed his surprize that, instead of fulfilling their promises, he should be daily insulted with new demands; and to bring them to a proper sense of justice and fair dealing, he was now resolved to keep the aga's messenger and attendants as hostages; and desired Mohammed, the deputy in question, would inform his employer of this determination. To this the messenger strongly objected, as he had volunteered the business out of good will to the English; but if the admiral would condescend to give him a writing

to the purport of what was required, he assured him all his people should be on board before night.

The commander, finding compulsory means unavailable, yielded in appearance; and drawing up a brief relation, in English, of the treacherous conduct he had experienced from the Turks, gave it to the officer with the number of signatures desired, as a substitute for the engagement solicited. He likewise put Mr. Femel on his guard how to interpret this writing; and then dispatched the officer on shore.

Towards evening, he returned according to his promise with Mr. Femel and nine others; and next morning the pinnace was delivered. The admiral next insisted on having the youth liberated, who had become a pretended proselyte to the Mahometan faith; which point, after some difficulty, he carried, and the boy once more became a Christian.

In every transaction, till the last moment of their stay, the Turks shewed a wish to entrap and circumvent the English; but the admiral being now at liberty, and zealously seconded by his men, counteracted all their machinations, and set his enemies at defiance.

Soon after Mr. Femel was surrendered up, he paid the debt of nature, either owing to a calenture, or poison administered by the Turks. A variety of manœuvres were played off on both sides; and some time was spent in fruitless negotiation; at last the English commander having obtained all the indemnity and satisfaction which circumstances would permit, on the 3d of July, left the road of Mocha, and sailed for Assab. Here he spent some time in watering: and fearful, lest the Turks should have poisoned the wells,

which he understood they sometimes did, he had them emptied and cleaned before he laid in his supplies.

On the 13th, the king of the country sent a letter and refreshments for the admiral; and having congratulated him on his escape from his enemies, gave him a cordial welcome into his own dominions; promising to supply him with whatever his country afforded. Sir Henry gave the messengers a kind reception; and made a suitable reply to the king, accompanied with some presents.

In a few days, a vessel arrived from Mocha, to make the final arrangements with the English, and to complete their mutual contracts; but the bashaw having made a frivolous excuse for not sending a ratification of the treaty of amity agreed to be entered into, gave the admiral absolute conviction that the Turks meant to take every advantage of the English, which circumstances might throw in their power; and this determined him to enter into similar views.

A large and valuable ship was daily expected from Suez to Mocha, on board of which his principal enemies had considerable ventures. This vessel he watched for some days, to the great danger of his own fleet; but at last, had the mortification to find she had escaped him in the night.

Having lost much time, and experienced, as has been seen, numerous disasters in the Red Sea, the admiral now fell down to Babelmandel, and two of his ships sailing by the western channel, and the other two by the eastern, joined in safety the same day without the Straights.

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From the 12th to the 27th of August they had much adverse wind, with occasional calms, so that they made little progress. But the monsoon being now far spent, the admiral procured the assistance of boats from the Nachada of Din, to get ballast and water on board; and likewise treated with him for the purchase of a considerable quantity of aloes.

This business settled, on the 3d of September Sir Henry warped the ships out of the road; and having engaged a pilot to conduct him to India, proceeded on his voyage. On the 27th he reached Surat, where he found several Indian and many Portuguese vessels. It seems the Portuguese had received intimation of the English being in the Red Sea; and had purposely sent some frigates to Surat, to prevent them from trading on the coast.

The admiral of the armada, as it was termed, sent a small frigate on the 29th, to congratulate the English commander on his arrival, and to offer him all the services in his power; but intimating, at the same time, that unless he brought letters of licence from the King of Spain, or the viceroy, no permission could be granted him to traffic. Sir Henry replied, that he was furnished with no letters of that kind, nor did he see the necessity of them, as he brought credentials and presents to the Great Mogul, with a view of promoting the trade and intercourse already begun.

Sir Henry soon after received letters from one Nicholas Bangham, stating the affairs of the English in that quarter, which were in a very forlorn situation, owing to the jealousy of the Portuguese, and the preponderance of their interest
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with the country powers. Indeed, though some of the chiefs among the natives expressed their desire of trading with Sir Henry, they owned the difficulty, and even the impossibility of doing it, without the concurrence of the Portuguese.

Nevertheless, the admiral determined to try his utmost; but the Portuguese having laid an ambuscade for a party of his men on shore, and proceeded to open hostilities, a consultation of officers was held, when it was resolved to concentrate the ships in the road, and to order the men on board.

The viceroy's son arriving with one hundred sail of vessels, of different descriptions, Sir Henry gave directions for the security of his fleet, not knowing how he stood affected. Afterwards Chojah Nassan, the governor of Surat, made a tender of supplies, and that in a few days, a trade would be opened; but failing in his promise, the commander was on the point of departure, when intelligence was brought by a broker, that Mokrib Chan, one of the Mogul's officers, and Chojah Nassan, would soon arrive to treat with him. Sir Henry received them on board, made them liberal presents, and flattered himself not only with a lucrative present trade, but with obtaining permission to establish a future factory. Having, however, gratified the avarice of those unprincipled dependants of royalty, as far as possible, and received in return very warm professions of services and regard; the admiral, after various evasive answers and broken promises, at last found himself duped and deceived; and was ordered to quit Surat with speed.

In compliance with this injunction, he left the road on the 12th of February, and arriving at Dubul on the 16th, dispatched a letter to the governor, soliciting liberty to trade, and kind treatment. The chief made a favourable reply; and an immediate intercourse with the shore took place.

On the 24th a council of officers was called, to determine what steps to pursue, whether they should proceed for Priaman and Bantam, or return to the Red Sea, to trade with the Indian ships bound thither. After discussing the two propositions, it was unanimously agreed, that they should revisit the Red Sea for the subsequent reasons: To dispose of their outward bound cargo, and to procure another: to retaliate the great and unprovoked injuries received at Mocha: and to assist in rescuing such of the East India ships, as should chance to be involved in similar dangers, from inadvertency or ignorance.

On the evening of the 27th, having previously taken fresh water on board, a ship was observed in the offing, which proved to be a Portuguese vessel from Cochin, bound for Chaul. Her lading chiefly consisted of cocoa nuts. Some few articles were taken out of her, an inventory of which the admiral caused to be certified, under the hands of the principal persons on board, and then dismissed her.

On the 25th of March, they had a view of the Island of Socotra, and on the 27th, were near Cape Gardafui, the extreme promontory of Africa, towards the east.

Some unimportant avocations took up their time till the 22d of April, when Mr. Pemberton returned

returned from Socotra, and informed the admiral, that he had been shewn a writing by Captain John Saris, who, notwithstanding he had seen Sir Henry's caution, not to proceed into the Red Sea, having obtained the Grand Signior's pass, had flattered himself with being able, with this sanction, to make a safe and profitable voyage.

The admiral having received this unexpected intelligence, called a council, in which their former resolution was confirmed; and, indeed, there was now no other alternative, till the periodical change of the winds, which would not happen for nearly a month. The Pepper Corn, Captain Dounton, was accordingly left to cruise in this latitude; while Sir Henry, in the Trade's Increase and Darling, determined to watch the double Straight of Babelmandel.

On the 4th of May, the admiral anchored within Babelmandel, between Arabia and the island; when a Turkish chief, appointed by the Aga of Mocha, to guard the pass, came off, and promised the commander, that if he was disposed to write to Mocha, an answer should be procured in three days. On this he sent a letter to Captain Saris, to acquaint him with his reasons for coming hither, and the detail of his plan.

On the 6th, a vessel came in from Zayla, laden principally with mats. The admiral purchased twelve sheep, being part of her live stock, and then suffered her to depart. In this situation, several ships fell into his hands, which were detained and plundered; but only one contained a lading of any considerable value.

The 14th, Captain Saris arrived, and anchored, with the three ships under his command, near Sir Henry. Having saluted each other with their

their guns, Captain Saris, and some of the principal persons on board his Squadron, visited his countrymen, and spent some time in consultation. Next day Sir Henry returned the visit, and dined on board the Clove, Captain Saris's ship, where he was favoured with a sight of the Grand Signior's pass. Much conversation took place; and the principal events of their respective voyages being mutually communicated, it was at last agreed, that they should adopt the same line of conduct; and that Captain Saris and his fleet should be allowed one-third of all the prizes they might be fortunate enough to capture.

As they absolutely commanded the navigation of the Red Sea, it was impossible but many vessels must fall into their possession, and some of them were of very considerable value. The Turks, sensible what gross provocation they had given the English, and that they were now entirely at their mercy, sent Mammi, captain of the gallies, accompanied by other persons of consequence, to negotiate a cessation of hostilities, and to know the demands of Sir Henry, as a full and indefinite compensation for past injuries.

This was what the admiral wished for; and that he might not lose the opportunity of an adequate indemnification, when fortune had put it so entirely in his own power, he insisted on receiving one hundred thousand rials of eight. To this the messengers demurred; but requested him to send to Zenan, to know the pleasure of the bashaw.

On the 30th, a general consultation was held on board the Trade's Increase; and the same day, the captain of the gallies and an aga, nominated

nated by the bashaw, returned, to confer about the stipulations required. But finding Sir Henry would make no abatement in his demands, they desired leave to apply to the captains of the Indian ships, and other principal merchants, to endeavour to obtain their consent to the levying some additional duties, towards discharging the fine. This proposition of raising the customs was by no means palatable, whereupon the commissioners, not being provided with the money, were obliged to solicit for a longer period. Meanwhile the English were employed in examining the Indian commodities on board the captured ships, and in exchanging such as suited them for their own goods.

Captain Dounton, who was stationed to watch the port of Aden, met with equal success; and was instrumental in retaliating the injuries the squadron had formerly received.

Delay succeeding delay, Sir Henry was determined to bring matters to a speedy conclusion, and accordingly, on the 11th, set sail for Mocha, with all the English and the Indian ships he had detained; leaving only the Pepper Corn behind, which soon joined him.

Perceiving, that after all, the Turks were averse to a compromise, so disadvantageous to themselves, and that they were busy in unlading a ship of Katfnagone, the admiral ordered Captain Dounton, in the Pepper Corn, to warp near him, when they discharged several guns at the Turks, which obliged them to desist from their employment.

Still, however, these obstinate people kept aloof, which induced the admiral to adopt another expedient. He now called a meeting of
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all the captains of the Indian ships, at which he stated his complaints against the Turks, and informed them, that, although he had indemnified himself for the injuries he had received in India, yet, till the Turks had made him ample compensation, he would not suffer them to depart, nor to trade at this place, but was resolved to carry all the Indian ships with him to sea, that his enemies might derive no benefit from trading with them this season.

Finding the admiral resolute, the Indian merchants, that they might not lose all the advantages of their voyage, desired to come to a composition; and proposed that every ship should pay a certain sum to the English for liberty to trade.

Sir Henry, aware that he could not force satisfaction from the Turks, without farther prejudice to the Indians, agreed to this proposal; and having settled the specific sums which each was to pay, and received a considerable advance, on the 6th of August, one of Captain Saris's squadron was dispatched by her commander; and having settled his own share of the composition-money, he followed on the 13th, and left the Red Sea.

On the 16th of August, the Trade's Increase and Pepper Corn set sail, and repassing the Straights of Babelmandel, proceeded for India.

Nothing particular happened till they reached the road of Tekoa, on the 19th of October, where they found the Darling, which had been lying there during the greatest part of the rainy season, and had buried several of her company, while a general sickness still prevailed. She had

procured but little pepper, nor was there a possibility of more till the return of the season.

Sir Henry, therefore, finding little encouragement at this place, on account of some intestine broils, which almost annihilated every species of commerce, set sail on the 23d for Bantam, in the Pepper Corn; leaving Captain Dounton, in the Trade's Increase, for a month longer, to take in the remainder of the pepper which had been purchased.

Captain Dounton found convincing proofs of the dishonesty of the natives; for, on examining the pepper, in some sacks there were small bags of paddy, in others rice, and in some stones, exclusive of a quantity of wet and damaged pepper put up in new sacks.

Having got every thing on board, they set sail by moon light, trusting to their former knowledge of the navigation. On sounding, they found oozy ground, and the water shallowing; though still deep enough to prevent the idea of danger. However, at once they discovered that it was only four fathom; and, to increase their consternation, the ship struck on a latent rock, and was held fast. In this situation they remained for some hours; but the wind becoming calm and the sea smooth, lessened their apparent danger, and gave them hopes of getting disengaged. But the leak, occasioned by the shock, gaining ground, notwithstanding all their exertions; they began to be under considerable alarm. However, as there appeared to be a tolerable depth of water on all sides of the ship, they used the utmost expedition in letting out a stern anchor, which was dropped in twenty-six fathom

water, in order to heave her off. This had all the effect that could be desired; for the ship was almost immediately afloat, and soon anchored about a mile from this unfortunate spot. In order to stop the leak, it was judged expedient to return to Tekoa; but it required incessant labour to keep the water from gaining ground; and the men began to be exhausted, and to increase the danger by their murmurs and discontent.

As the leak was evidently in the stern, they busily employed themselves for ten days in lighting that part, and in making such temporary repairs as circumstances would allow. They then sailed from Tekoa, and fortunately got over the bar. In the course of their voyage they had a violent storm of thunder and lightning with gusts of wind. Before this was abated, they had sight of the high land of Sumatra; and, on the 20th, arrived at Pulo Panian.

Here the admiral, having previously fitted out the Pepper Corn, summoned a council to consult about their future proceedings; when it was resolved, that the Trade's Increase ought to be careened, before she could venture to return home; and as that would take up a considerable period, it was farther concluded, that the Pepper Corn should be immediately dispatched to England, for the satisfaction of the owners.

In consequence of this determination, the Pepper Corn set sail on the 4th of February 1613, and on the 10th of May arrived in Saldanna road, where they found the Hector and Thomas East Indiamen, which Captain Dounton meant to accompany; and, therefore, made use of all possible expedition to lay in the necessary refreshments.

refreshments. Setting sail in company, on the 16th at evening, the Thomas was fallen far astern, while the Hector, being the fleetest sailer, bore away without concern; and this night the Pepper Corn lost sight of them. Captain Dounton steered such a course as he thought most likely to recover the convoy, but without effect; and having spent some days in the search, was obliged to proceed alone.

Sickness and distress soon overtook the crew of the Pepper Corn, and they were obliged to bear away for England, without the prospect of one half being ever able to reach it. They crossed the line on the 18th of June; and on the 10th of September, while they were approaching their native shores, met with a strong gale of wind, and a hollow sea, which drove them from their intended course. In this dilemma they tried to fetch Milford Haven; and the next afternoon had a view of the coasts of both Wales and Ireland. The winds being contrary, they were once more obliged to alter their plan; and finding it impossible to gain Milford Haven, they stood for Waterford in Ireland. With some difficulty they reached this port; and though the Irish shewed the sick and weakly crew all the humanity in their power, owing to the misrepresentations of a worthless fellow, whom Captain Dounton was obliged to punish for his misbehaviour, that unfortunate officer was taken up on a charge of piracy, and confined in the Fort of Dungannon for nearly three weeks.

Thus, after a long and dangerous voyage, enough to impair the health of the most robust, Captain Dounton had no other consolation, on reaching

reaching the British dominions, than a prison, and a capital charge to answer: however, having immediately sent off dispatches for England, he at length procured his discharge; and on the 20th of October, landed in safety at Blackwall.

But the catastrophe of Sir Henry Middleton still remains to be told. That indefatigable commander, after dispatching the Pepper Corn, steered for Machian, to careen and repair his ship. While he lay here, a dreadful mortality breaking out among his company, he lost above one hundred; and only thirty-three remained alive, the greatest part of whom were sick. Middleton had borne imprisonment, and the common disasters of voyagers, with equanimity; he had struggled with adverse fortune, and sometimes risen superior to its severest frowns; but when he lost his men, he lost all hopes. Grief preyed on his heart, and soon brought him to the grave. He died on the 24th of May 1613.

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VOYAGE OF
GEORGE SPILBERGEN,
ROUND THE WORLD.

WHEREVER the spirit of adventure led the way to gain, the Dutch have always shewn a strong propensity to pursue the track. In maritime affairs they were early, and have long been conspicuous. They have not only covered the seas with their ships; but they have encroached on the domains of the ocean itself, and wresting a country from its face, have displayed an energy of character, which ranks them high among nations. But though the desire of gain is the undoubted source of industry and arts, the acquisition of too much opulence never fails to extinguish the glow of patriotism, and to render the heart callous to the finer feelings of nature. We cannot reflect on what the Dutch have been, without admiration; we cannot look forward to what they may become, without regret. In them, we contemplate with awful solicitude, the baneful effects of riches, leading to a destitution of principle; and where every thing becomes venal for gold, we feel a painful presentiment, that similar causes will, in time, produce similar effects on kingdoms, yet happy and respectable. The philosophic mind, while it records past events, cannot avoid glancing at futurity; and, in reviewing the history of
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one nation, will see how an useful lesson may be taught to another.

As the voyage we are about to detail gave the Dutch East India Company both reputation and power, this exordium is not misplaced. Spilbergen was a man of nautical skill and abilities; and, as the Dutch East India Company was desirous to follow other nations through the Straights of Magellan, they fitted out six ships for that purpose, and appointed him admiral of the expedition.

On the 8th of August 1614, this fleet sailed out of the Texel, and continued their voyage till they anchored in the road of Ilas Grandes, in Brasil, without any remarkable incident. On the 20th of December they arrived here; and soon after, one of the ships was attacked by five Portuguese brigs, assisted by the Indians, which obliged the Dutch to sheer off. While they lay before this island, a conspiracy was discovered; for engaging in which, two persons were tried, condemned, and executed.

Leaving this place, Spilbergen sailed to St. Vincent, and took a bark, which he burned. After weathering a dreadful storm on the 7th of March, a mutiny broke out in the fleet, which was at last quelled by the conduct and resolution of the different commanders. On the 24th of the same month they entered the celebrated Straights of Magellan; but the winds and tides forced them out again. They renewed their attempt on the 2d of April, and succeeded. In latitude 54, they put into a bay which they named Pepper Haven, from the bark of the trees in the environs resembling that spice in taste. Here they trafficed with the natives;

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but, in the end, were surpris'd by them on shore, and lost two of their men.

On the 6th of May, they made good their passage ; but no sooner did they enter the South Sea than they were overtaken by a storm, and were in imminent danger of being wrecked on some islands lying near the coast. Proceeding in the Pacific, they came to La Mocha, which had been appointed the place of rendezvous, in case of separation. At this place they commenced a trade with the natives, whom they found war-like, and very inimical to the Spaniards.

On the 28th they reached St. Mary's Island, where a Spaniard invited them on shore ; but perceiving some soldiers in ambush, they suspected foul play, and kept the Spaniard prisoner. Landing afterwards, the people fled as they approached the town, which the Dutch set on fire. Here they collected five hundred sheep and some poultry ; and then failed to meet three Spanish vessels, which they understood were in quest of them.

They soon fell in with a ship having some treasure on board, which was embezzled by the seamen ; and not long after, they saw eight sail, which, the master of the captured vessel assured them, was the royal fleet sent from Peru in search of them, under the command of Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, a relation of the viceroy. Approaching each other, with a mutual resolution to conquer or die, the Dutch soon sunk the vice-admiral and the St. Francis ; and so much damaged the admiral's ship, that she went to the bottom soon after the action ceased.

By this unfortunate engagement, the King of Spain lost an immense sum, which had been expended

expended on the fleet and its equipment. De Mendoza died of his wounds; and it seems, that with unrelenting barbarity, all the Spaniards, who were not killed in the fight, or drowned in the sea, were dispatched in cool blood. The Dutch, however, did not come off without damage; they lost forty men in the action, and had fifty-eight wounded.

Soon after the engagement, the Dutch sailed for Calao de Lima, but finding great preparations made for their reception, and having received a shot from a thirty-six pounder, which had nearly sunk one of their ships, they were obliged to retire.

On the 8th of August they battered Paita; but on landing, found that the inhabitants, notwithstanding the strength of the town, had fled, and carried all their moveables and money with them.

On the 6th of January 1616, they landed on one of the Ladrones, and reached the Manillas the 9th of February. On the 5th of March they received intelligence of a fleet, consisting of twelve ships and four gallies, manned with two thousand Spaniards, besides Indians, Chinese, and Japanese; which powerful armament was intended to drive the Dutch out of the Moluccas.

Nothing of any importance happened till the 12th of May, when Spilbergen had the satisfaction to learn from Captain Castleton, who had four English ships under his command, that the Dutch general, John Dirksen Lam, who had sailed from Banda early in the spring, with twelve men of war, and a body of land forces, had

had effected a landing at Pulo Wai, the richest of all the islands in these parts, and made it an easy conquest.

After this favourable prelude, he summoned the inhabitants of the adjacent isles, which successively submitted, and entered into a treaty with him extremely advantageous to the interests of the Dutch East India Company; as it secured to them the invaluable monopoly of the best nutmegs in India.

The same month, Spilbergen received orders to sail with two ships to the city of Bantam, in the Isle of Java, with instructions to settle and methodise the trade of that port.

On the 27th of June, they proceeded to Batavia, where they careened their ships. While thus employed, they had an opportunity of observing the vast increase of the Dutch trade. During that period there arrived four ships from the Moluccas, laden with the richest spices: four from Holland, with several hundred soldiers on board to supply the garrison; and also a rich ship from Japan, with a large quantity of rials, plate, and other valuable effects.

On the 14th of December, the admiral set sail from Bantam, for Holland, with the Amsterdam of fourteen hundred tons, and the Zealand of twelve hundred tons, under his command. After touching at St. Helena on the 30th of January 1617, Spilbergen arrived in Holland on the 1st of July, having performed the circumnavigation of the globe in two years and eleven months.

The success of his voyage ensured him a favourable reception at home; nor was the intelligence he brought of the entire conquest of the
Moluccas

Moluccas less agreeable to his countrymen. In fine, Spilbergen may be reckoned among the most fortunate navigators, having experienced fewer accidents, and met with more general good fortune than most of his naval contemporaries.

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TO SEATON

VOYAGE

OF

SCHOUTEN AND LA MAIRE,

ROUND THE WORLD.

A COMPANY implies monopoly; and various have been the opinions of sages and politicians on the expediency of exclusive charters. Regarding unity of action as an essential requisite in the settling and conducting a distant commerce, we see less objections against judicious partial restraints, than dangers from open competition. The combination of numbers is more likely to produce important advantages at less risk than the desultory attempts of speculative adventurers, who, if they fail, are totally ruined.

The States General of the United Provinces, in conformity to the practices of most other European nations, having given peculiar privileges to their East India Company; of consequence prohibited their other subjects from carrying on any trade eastward beyond the Cape of Good Hope, or to the westward through the Straights of Magellan.

This prohibition could not fail to irritate those who fancied that the liberty of making the attempt was sufficient to secure a golden advantage; and speculative minds, who were desirous

of prosecuting discoveries at their private risk, exclaimed against the injustice of shutting up those passages which Providence had opened for the intercourse of all its creatures.

Among persons of this way of sentiment, was La Maire, a rich merchant of Amsterdam, who having acquired wealth, was inflamed with a desire of appropriating a portion of it, in signalizing himself as a discoverer. Animated with this view, he opened his mind to Cornelison Schouten of Horn, a man of respectability, who had thrice visited the East. On asking his opinion whether a new passage might not be discovered into the South Sea, and whether there was not a probability, that the countries to the south of that passage might be equally rich with the East and West Indies? Schouten, struck with the suggestion, immediately replied, that there was great reason to suppose such a passage existed, and still stronger reasons for his conjecture, that the southern countries might be productive of valuable commodities.

This coincidence of ideas, which were mutually communicated without reserve, and that clearness of conception which a collision of sentiments never fails to produce, made these gentlemen enthusiasts in the plan their ingenuity had struck out; and drawing inferences which sanguine hopes will always render easy, that no legal impediments barred their attempt; it was soon agreed on, that La Maire and his friends should advance one half towards the necessary expences of the voyage, and Schouten and his friends the other.

Having proceeded so far, they made use of extraordinary expedition in preparing for their voyage;

age; and engaging seamen to go wherever their masters and supercargoes should require, they allowed them, in consequence of this singular condition, extraordinary wages; which gave the projectors an opportunity of selecting such men as were most experienced, and to be relied on.

The suddenness of the armament, and the inviolable secrecy that was observed, gave rise to numerous conjectures as to their destination. No one could develop the mystery, and every person reasoned on the object of the voyage according to his different apprehensions. The common people gave the adventurers the appellation of the Gold Finders; while the merchants distinguished them by the name of the South Company.

In the short space of two months, two ships were completely equipped; the *Unity*, of three hundred and sixty tons, nineteen guns, and sixty-five men, William Cornelison Schouten master, and James la Maire, the son of the original projector, supercargo; and the *Horn*, of one hundred and ten tons burden, carrying eight guns, and twenty-two men, commanded by John Cornelison Schouten.

These ships left the Texel on the 4th of June 1615, and on the 17th anchored in the Downs, where they took in fresh water, and engaged an English gunner. They left Plymouth on the 28th, and proceeded on their voyage.

Steering between Teneriffe and the Grand Canary, they afterwards touched at Cape Verd; and on the 21st of August, having sight of the high land of Sierra Leona, and the Islands of Madrabomba, they attempted to make the continent, by passing the shallows of St. Ann; but finding this impracticable, they anchored near one of

the above named islands. Going on shore, they found the island morassy and steril, and unfit for the habitation of man. On the 23d they discovered a neighbouring river, the mouth of which was so obstructed with sand and cliffs, that no ship could enter; but on proceeding farther, the water became deep and broad enough for ships to tack about. Here they saw monkeys, wild oxen, crocodiles, turtles, and various birds; but met with no fruit save lemons.

Anchoring near a poor village in the vicinity of the road of Sierra Leona, they found the natives unwilling to trust themselves on board, without hostages for their safe return. However, the supercargo of the Horn, less suspicious, because conscious he meant no harm, landed, and continued some time on shore, exchanging beads for lemons and bananas. This unreserved conduct inspired the inhabitants with more confidence: they now came on board; and a friendly intercourse was kept up during the remainder of their stay. This situation was peculiarly favourable for watering; and therefore, it was of the greater consequence to be on good terms with the people of the country. Lemons were here so plenty and so cheap, that one thousand could be purchased for a few beads or a knife.

On the 1st of September they proceeded to a small river on the same coast, near which they landed, and caught an antelope. They had likewise much success in fishing: one species of fish they took here, we are told, resembled a shoemaker's knife.

They left the coast of Sierra Leona on the 4th of October; and next day, about noon, were surprised with a violent shock given to the lower
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part of one of the ships. No adversary appeared, no rock had been encountered; but while they were amused with this phenomenon, the sea began to change colour, and a fountain of blood seemed to surround them. This sudden alteration of the water was no less astonishing than the shock they had sustained; but of the cause of both they were equally ignorant, till they reached Port Desire. There, in careening the ship on the strand, they found a large horn, both in form and magnitude resembling an elephant's tooth, sticking fast in the bottom of the ship. It was a firm and solid body, without any cavity or spongy matter in the middle; and had pierced through three very stout planks of the ship, and raised one of the ribs; penetrating at least a foot deep in the timbers, and about as much more appeared outside. The incident on the coast of Sierra Leona was now explained. It was clear that some monstrous tenant of the deep, of unknown species, having made a rude assault on the ship, was unable to withdraw its weapon; which, breaking in the attack, occasioned such an effusion of blood as to discolour the surrounding ocean.

Having now advanced beyond the bounds of the mariners knowledge, and who were equally ignorant what was their future destination, the masters thought it time to divulge their intentions, and informed the crews that it was their wish to discover a new southern passage into the Pacific Ocean, This communication gave the sailors the most sensible pleasure, as they expected to reap a golden harvest, where no other Europeans had gained a prospect of the crop.

On the 7th of November, they found themselves off Port Desire, but they missed the right channel, and entered a winding shallow bay, where the *Unity* ran aground; and had not a brisk gale providentially sprung up, she would have infallibly been lost. Here they found abundance of eggs among the cliffs; while the bay afforded them smelts of an extraordinary size, from which it was denominated Smelt Bay. The shallop having been sent to the Penguin Islands, returned with a tolerable cargo of these birds, and two sea-lions.

On entering Port Desire, they attempted to cast anchor in twenty fathoms water, but the bottom being composed of loose stones, and the wind blowing fresh on the shore, both ships drifted, and were, for a time, in great danger of being wrecked. Proceeding farther up the river, they came to King's Island, which they found almost entirely covered with black sea-mews. So thick were their nests planted, that a man, by only extending his arms, might have grasped fifty or sixty of them; each nest contained three or four eggs; so that of ovarious food there was no end. The water, however, was brakish, and unpleasant. Ostriches were very numerous, as was an animal of the deer kind. On the hills were heaps of stones, which it appeared had been thrown up to mark the places of sepulture.

The *Unity* being careened on King's Island, without any accident, the *Horn* was next hauled on shore, about two hundred yards distance from the other ship. A fire of reeds being placed under the *Horn*, to dry her, unfortunately seized on the timbers; and the water being fifty yards

yards off, all the endeavours of the seamen were ineffectual to save her. She was burned down to the keel. Providentially the Unity was at a safe distance, or both ships would have been lost in the dreadful conflagration, and the men exposed to all the dangers of being left on a barbarous and barren coast.

Having transferred the crew of the Horn on board the Unity, on the 13th of January 1616, they left Port Desire; and on the 24th saw land stretching from the east to the south, rising into icy mountains; and soon after other land of similar aspect appeared in the eastern quarter. These lands were computed to be eight leagues asunder; and as a brisk current set to the southward, it was conjectured a passage intervened, to discover which they bore up. On approaching this opening, they saw an incredible number of penguins, and such shoals of whales as really rendered the navigation dangerous. To the east land, they gave the appellation of Staten Land, and to that on the west, Maurice Land. The roads appeared convenient; the water replenished with fish, and covered with fowl; but the shore exhibited traces of unvarying sterility. From certain indications in their progress, they were fully assured that they should soon enter the Great South Sea, by a communication hitherto unexplored, and therefore their own. This gave them new resolution to proceed; and though it required all their endeavours to ward off danger, and to watch its approach, the prospect of ultimate success, made them superior to present ills.

It would be uninteresting to particularize every tack, and every trivial occurrence in this navigation;

vigation: suffice it to say that, on the 31st of January, they doubled Cape Horn, which they first discovered, and to which they first gave name; while the straights they had sailed through, were denominated from La Maire, the partner in the enterprise.

On the 12th of February, they clearly ascertained the Straights of Magellan, which gave them the perfect assurance of their having made a new and happy discovery. The general joy was now expressed by a liberal, but judicious use of wine, which Schouten allowed all his men; and in celebrating their success, they soon lost the remembrance of the pains it had cost them. It should be remarked, that a settled course of bad weather, thick fogs, and strong currents, attended their passage through the Straights of La Maire; and future observation has shewn, that these are the invariable adjuncts of these regions.

After encountering so many difficulties, it was reasonable to suppose, that the health of the men must stand in need of indulgence and relief. Schouten therefore resolved to sail for Juan Fernandez, which he reached on the 1st of March; but though the appearance of the land was extremely inviting, not finding suitable anchorage; he was obliged to abandon his plan of refreshing here. However, the Dutch found plenty of fish, and excellent fresh water. This island will be particularly described in some subsequent voyage. At the period of Schouten's expedition it was little known.

Having passed the tropic of Capricorn on the 3d of April, the crew began to be seized with a terrible flux, and at the time, while this disorder

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der was raging, they came to a low island, on which they could find no supplies, but a kind of scurvy grass. The only quadruped they saw here was a species of dog, probably of the Peruvian breed, mute and harmless. This island they named from the animal, which seemed to be the legitimate denizen of the spot.

Sailing westward, they approached another low island, from whence an Indian canoe advanced to meet them. The men were naked, of a reddish complexion, and had long black hair. They beckoned the Dutch to land; but on being addressed in the languages of Spain, Molucca, and Java, it was found they were equally ignorant of all. When within musket shot of the shore, they found neither bottom nor change of water. Here another unintelligible conference was held between the natives and the Dutch; but neither could prevail on the other to give the first proof of unsuspicious confidence. The natives declined coming on board; and the Dutch could not be prevailed on, by their invitations, to land. Sailing about ten leagues to the north-west, to get about the land, they coasted along shore next morning, where they perceived several naked savages making signs of amity. Presently one of the canoes came off towards the ship, and afterwards ventured up to the shallop; when the Dutch distributed beads, knives, and other trifles, among them, which seemed to please them very highly. This emboldened them to be less reserved; but the magnitude of the ship seemed to strike them with awe; they therefore shewed a predilection for the shallop, of which they got on board. However, this familiarity was not very desirable; for they had no more ideas of honesty

nesty than the natives of the Ladrões. Like them, they shewed a partiality for iron, and a fondness for stealing it. The very nails of the cabin-windows, and the bolts of the doors, were insecure from their depredations. When the Dutch gave them some wine, they drank the liquor and kept the cup; and when they threw out a rope to bring them up to the ship, they would neither use nor return it. In short, whatever they laid their hands on, they considered as lawful plunder; nor could any thing but force wrest it from their grasp. These people were entirely naked, except a small mat which they wore round their waists; but they were curiously painted with the figures of snakes, dragons, and other reptiles, which were very significant emblems of their own subtle and grovelling natures.

Schouten, being desirous to know what the island produced, sent the shallop ashore with some armed men; but they no sooner landed, than thirty of the natives rushed out of a wood, with clubs, staves, and slings, and attempted to seize the vessel; but the fire of some musketry instantly drove them to their retreats. To this island they gave the singular name of Without Ground, because they could find no foundings on its coasts. It appeared long, and full of trees, which were supposed to be chiefly cocoas and palmettos, latitude 15 deg. south; about one hundred leagues from the Isle of Dogs.

Leaving these people, whose language they could not understand, and of whose morals they had received such an unfavourable specimen, the *Unity* departed, and on her course, passed two islands, to one of which they gave the appellation of Water Island, on account of its

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low and marshy situation; while the other obtained the appropriate name of Fly Island. At the last they discovered a stream of pure water, where they intended to fill their casks; but were unaccountably thrown into a panic, by the appearance of one of the natives, who was soon joined by about six more of his countrymen. But though the Dutch easily escaped from the inhabitants, of whom it seems they had unreasonable apprehensions; they were attacked by such swarms of flies, that they were perfectly covered from head to foot. Their very apparel seemed alive; and the deep black tinge of the flies gave them a most ghastly appearance. Even the boat and oars were covered with myriads of insects; and when the party, which had been on shore, returned, the plague of flies might be said to begin on board. Every person was employed in defending his face and eyes; and it was almost impossible to speak or eat without swallowing mouthfuls. This dreadful visitation lasted three or four days, by the expiration of which the flies were almost annihilated.

Leaving this place with a favourable gale, at the computed distance of 1510 leagues from the coast of Peru, they perceived a bark sailing towards them, on which Schouten fired a gun or two to make her strike; but these people, not understanding the language of guns, he sent off the shallop, with ten musketeers to board her, on which some of the men threw themselves into the sea with their goods. Those who remained on the bark, yielded to the captors without resistance, and were kindly entertained. Here the Dutch had humanity enough to save the lives of some who had committed themselves to the deep.

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The whole crew consisted of twenty-three persons, of whom eight were women, besides children. They had only a slight covering round the waist, but appeared neat and cleanly in their persons, and had copper-coloured complexions. Their bark was of a peculiar figure and construction, consisting of two canoes fastened together by planks, on which the superstructure was raised. They had no other marine furniture, except a few fishing hooks, composed of stone, tortoiseshell, or mother of pearl. Fresh cocoa-nuts supplied the place of water. Schouten dismissed them all on board their own vessel, when they shewed the most lively demonstrations of joy. The Dutch, soon after, saw another of these barks, which sailed so fast, that few Europeans vessels could have outstripped her.

On the 11th they made two islands, at one of which they anchored; and from the number of cocoas it produced, named it Cocoa Island. It was calculated to be in 16 deg. south latitude, and forms one continuous mountain. While they lay here, three large vessels, and several canoes approached with white flags, which symbol of amity the Dutch imitated. The canoes were flat at one end, and acute at the other; excavated from a solid piece of red wood, and are remarkably swift sailers.

These people seemed well disposed to trade, and exchange their provisions and other commodities with the Dutch; but, like some of the other islanders, they evinced a treacherous disposition, whenever an advantage was in their power. They even attempted, after a short acquaintance, to capture the shallop, and ridiculed the first discharge of the musketry; but the second
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being better directed, they were convinced of the execution which fire arms could make, and taught more respectful manners in future. After this, they were as troublesome in their importunities to trade with the Dutch, as before they had been in their attempts to plunder and destroy them. They were a robust and personable race, and most dexterous swimmers. The ship was an object of the highest admiration to them, and they not only clustered round her sides, but even dived and examined her bottom.

For some days a traffic was carried on to the apparent satisfaction of both parties; but as the natives still returned in larger bodies, and were inquisitively minute in examining the strength of the vessel, some room was given for suspicion. Meanwhile the king himself sent the commander a present of a black hog, charging the messenger to accept no gratuity; and soon after followed in a large vessel, attended by thirty-five canoes. Being come near the *Unity*, he began to call aloud, in which he was joined by all his attendants. This it appeared was their mode of salutation. The Dutch received them with drums and trumpets, with which they were both pleased and surprised; and to acknowledge the honour done them, they made obeisances, and clapped their hands over their heads. The sovereign then sent his present on board, for which he received an old hatchet, a piece of linen cloth, and some very trifling articles, which he accepted with evident satisfaction. His majesty was in no respect to be distinguished from his subjects, but by the superior respect they paid him. He had no badges of power, no ornaments of dress: for all were naked alike.

Notwithstanding this friendly intercourse, the Dutch fleet was next day surrounded by twenty-three ships and forty-five canoes, carrying about eight hundred men. The king himself commanded the fleet. Having in vain attempted to delude the Dutch, by a show of trading, and of conducting them to a place where they might be better accommodated, the savages made a sudden onset, in which the king, who led the way, rushed with such force at the Unity, that the heads of two canoes, which lay before her, were dashed in with the violence of the shock; while the rest advanced with much intrepidity, and threw a volley of stones. But the Dutch ordnance beginning to play on them, accompanied with a discharge of small arms, they were soon glad to desist; and to seek safety by leaping into the sea, or escaping by any practicable means. From this perfidious conduct, the place was named Traitor's Island.

The same day, Schouten continued his course to the westward; and on the 14th fell in with another island, to which they gave the appellation of Hope Isle, from the prospect it afforded of furnishing them with provisions and refreshments; but finding no anchorage, the shallop was dispatched to sound. She returned with intelligence, that there was a strong bottom in forty fathoms water, about musket-shot from the shore. The natives soon resorted to them in several canoes, and exchanged flying fish for beads; but were very timid and reserved. Meanwhile the shallop being employed at some distance in taking soundings, another party attempted to carry her off; but the sailors gave them such a warm reception with guns, pikes, and cutlasses, that

that after seeing two of their companions killed, they retired with precipitation. This island was environed with black cliffs, whose summits were clothed with herbage, and well stocked with cocoa-trees. Several houses ranged along the strand; but as no convenient anchorage could be found, nor any reliance placed on the natives, the Dutch thought proper to proceed.

Two days after leaving Hope Island, the admiral observed to his officers, that as they were now sixteen hundred leagues to the westward of Peru, and had discovered no continent, it was improbable that any existed. He further added, that they had sailed in this direction farther than was originally intended; and if they still persevered, they must inevitably fall to the southward of New Guinea, where, if they discovered no passage, they must inevitably be lost, as the winds blowing constantly from the east, would not suffer them to return. He therefore suggested the propriety of making the north part of New Guinea, which proposal was unanimously embraced.

On the 19th of May, they observed two islands at a small distance from each other, and gaining the land, they were rudely assaulted by the natives in two canoes, without the least provocation given. On this the Dutch discharged two guns, which killed as many of the assailants, and put the rest to flight.

Finding they had formidable opponents to contend with, the natives dropped hostilities, and assumed a very friendly and peaceable demeanour. They brought fruits, roots, and hogs, which they exchanged with alacrity for knives, beads, and nails. These people were very ex-

pert in swimming and diving; and shewed an unconquerable propensity to thieving, when they had a safe opportunity. Their houses were of simple construction, about twelve feet high, covered with leaves, and ranged along the shore. They had no furniture except a bed of herbs, an angling rod or two, and a large club. The abode of their king was equally unadorned, and ill furnished.

The Dutch exchanged hostages with these people, sending three of their men in the room of six Indians, whom they retained. The king treated those who landed with all imaginable respect. He made them a present of four hogs; and zealously preserved a watering party of the strangers from any injury or interruption from his subjects. His people stood in great awe of him; and if any of them offended, it was only necessary to acquaint his majesty with the circumstance. One, having stolen a cutlass, experienced a severe drubbing, besides being obliged to make restitution; and it was observed by his countrymen, that his punishment was uncommonly mild.

The report of the guns alarmed these islanders in the most sensible manner; and though the king was pleased to have them, on occasion, fired off, and was apprized of the effect, he could not stand the discharge; but leaped from his seat, and fled with all his courtiers into the woods.

This alarm having subsided, by the care the Dutch took to shew how unfounded it was, attempts were made to procure more hogs; but it seems the stock was very nearly exhausted. The king, however, treated his visitors with the customary respect; and as a mark of royal condescension

cession, pulled off his own cap of feathers, and placed it on the head of one of the company. These caps are beautifully variegated with the plumes of parrots and doves. The latter are black with white backs; and each of the king's council has one of these birds perched by him on a stick, the origin and meaning of which usage, the Dutch could not learn.

Having got their water on board, the admiral and some of his officers went on shore with a military band of music, which afforded the king great delight. But though his majesty behaved in the most amicable manner, he began to entertain apprehensions that his guests meant to prolong their stay beyond the period that would have been agreeable; and therefore gave them to understand, that if they would depart in two days, he would make them a present of ten hogs. All this time, both prince and people continued their marks of respect to the Dutch, kissing their feet, and placing them on their necks, in token of awe and veneration.

On the 30th, the king received a visit from the sovereign of the adjoining island, who came with a train of three hundred naked attendants, with bunches of green herbs stuck round their waists; and that he might be sure of a welcome, he brought a number of hogs with him. The two princes coming in sight of each other, fell prostrate on the ground; and, after several strange gestures, walked to the seats prepared for them, muttering and bowing to each other. Being seated under a canopy, the king of the island sent to his guests, to signify that their music would be acceptable; on which the Dutch

attended with drums and trumpets, to the high entertainment of their majesties.

The preparations for a banquet now commenced. A company of cooks, as they might properly be called, having produced a quantity of cana, an herb which supplies their favourite beverage, began to chew it, and to put the saliva and juice into a wooden trough; on which pouring water and then stirring and straining it, they served it up in cups to the monarchs; at the same time offering a portion of it to the Dutch in attendance, who civilly declined this honour. Indeed the mode of preparing it would have disgusted any one, whose politeness did not overcome his private feelings.

The drink being thus got ready, the viands consisted of the roasted roots of ubes, and hogs dressed in a manner as singular as the liquor was brewed. They ripped up their bellies, and taking out the entrails, supplied their place with hot stones, singeing off the external hair. After this simple preparation, they were fit for the king's table, without any condiments. Two of the hogs, dressed in this manner, were presented in the most respectful and ceremonious style to the Dutch; and they had also eleven given them alive; for which a remuneration was made in knives, old nails, and beads.

These islanders were of a dark yellow complexion, and of robust and well proportioned frames. They were so tall, that the largest among the Dutch was not equal in this respect to the shortest of them. Some wore their hair curled, others frizzed, and some tied in knots; while a few, more fantastic than the rest, raised it erect like hog's bristles, near a foot high. The king and some of his

his courtiers had long hair depending below their waists, and bound up with a knot or two; but the women were all close cropped, and in other respects, were very uninviting figures; being short and ill-shaped, and having breasts uncommonly flaccid and long.

Both sexes were naked, except about the waist. They seemed to have no ideas of religion, and lived in a state of nature without arts, without industry. Whatever the earth spontaneously produced, they enjoyed and no more; for labour and agriculture were unknown. They had no sense of decency or modesty, gratifying every call of nature with publicity; and knowing neither fear nor shame. In fine, they seem very much to have resembled the South Sea Indians, whom our modern navigators have brought to light.

To this place the Dutch gave the name of Horn Island; and the harbour where they anchored was denominated Unity Bay.

Leaving this island on the 1st of June, they saw no land till the 21st, when they discovered a low island, surrounded with sand banks, and three or four islets full of trees. Some of the natives came off in a canoe, who in person and manners, bore a striking resemblance to those already described; except that they were of a darker complexion, and were armed with bows and arrows, the first weapons of that sort, which the Dutch had seen since they entered the Pacific.

These people, by signs, made the strangers understand that they might be better accommodated farther to the west, where their king resided. In consequence of this, Schouten held a westerly course, and next day saw a cluster of islands, of not less than twelve in number.

Passing

Passing three small islands on the 24th, surrounded with cliffs, they steered on; and next day had a view of another island, and some huts, to which they gave the name of St. John's Island, from the day of its discovery.

About this time they espied very high land on the north-west quarter, which they conjectured was the point of New Guinea. Having dispatched the shallop in quest of anchorage, two or three canoes, filled with a savage people, assailed her with slings; but the Dutch firing upon them, they were seized with consternation, and soon dispersed. They were of a dark hue, and spoke a different language from any the Dutch had yet heard. All night they kept up fires on the coast; and some of them came lurking about the ship in their canoes. The Dutch endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity of ingratiating themselves with them, and to let them know that they were in want of provisions; but they could obtain no other answer, than horrible and confused outcries.

The Unity anchored in forty-five fathoms water, where the country appeared high and verdant, and beautifully picturesque. At this place it was computed they were one thousand eight hundred and forty leagues distant from Peru.

Early in the morning of the 26th, three canoes rowed up to the ship full of men, armed with clubs, wooden swords, and slings; but though the Dutch still shewed a disposition to treat them with kindness, and to allure them by presents, they soon found that they were neither to be subdued by mildness, nor awed into peace by any thing but their guns. They resolutely attacked the ship, and continued the charge, till several

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were killed by the cannon, when the rest leaped into the sea, and sought an escape from the destruction which they saw their temerity had drawn on them. But now the Dutch pursued them in the shallop; and dispatching some, took four canoes, which they converted into fire-wood, and brought three prisoners on board.

This example of powerful vengeance, made the Indians more attentive; and accordingly they brought hogs and bananas to ransom the prisoners, giving ten hogs for each. In this island the Dutch observed birds of plumage wholly red, probably a species of birds of paradise.

Schouten making but a short stay at this place, sailed again on the 28th, and next day passed three lofty islands to the north of the former. On the 30th, several canoes, full of a dark swarthy people, came up to the ship; and being received on board, broke their staves over the heads of the Dutch, in token of peace. What an entertaining book would an universal display of human ceremonies make! And when we are disposed to smile at the apparent absurdity of some, among distant nations, let us first slip off the veil of prejudice, and ask ourselves, if our own are more consonant to reason, or more expressive of the sentiments we wish to convey!

The canoes of these islanders shewed some degree of artificial neatness, and the people appeared somewhat civilized. They wore a partial covering, sufficient on the score of modesty, and powdered their hair with chalk; but instead of bringing any of the productions of the country for sale, they appeared as mendicants, and wished to make a pretence of poverty.

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On the 1st of July, the *Unity* cast anchor between a small island and the main-land of New Guinea, and was soon surrounded by twenty-five armed canoes, supposed to be filled by the same nation as had broken their staves in testimony of peace. They were soon, however, undeceived; for some fixing themselves on the anchors, began to tug, as if they could have drawn the vessel on shore, while the rest attacked the sides with slings and other weapons. It was now necessary for the Dutch to display their power. A broad side forced the intruders to retire with the loss of several killed, and many more wounded.

Again setting sail, the Dutch passed a great number of islands, and soon after observed a very high mountain to the south-west, which they supposed to be Greemenassi in Banda; but on a nearer approach, they discovered their mistake. It now appeared that the island, in the vicinity of which they now were, contained several volcanic mountains, for which reason they named it Vulcan's Isle. It was populous and abounding in cocoas; the natives seemed apprehensive of the Dutch, and spoke a language which none of the Indians on board could understand. To the north several more islands were descried; and they approached a low one, round which the sea was observed to be of different colours, probably occasioned by the influx of some large rivers.

They next came to an island in latitude 3 deg. 40 min. south, which seemed insalubrious, and produced nothing of value save a little ginger. The Papoos inhabited it, a people who increase their natural deformity by a preposterous dress, which makes them appear as monsters in human form. Scarcely one of them was free from some defect,

defect, or personal oddity. They wore strings of hog's teeth round their necks, and rings in their noses; so that altogether they excited disgust. Their houses were very inartificial, and as destitute of ornament or attraction as their persons.

Though the Dutch had so long coasted an extensive track of land, they were still unable to determine with precision whether it belonged to New Guinea or not. Their charts neither agreed with each other, nor with the land in prospect. For some days they kept the trendings of the coast. At last observing the country well stocked with cocoas, they dispatched the boat and shallop to procure some. But the Indians anticipating their design of landing, prepared to receive them; and fell on them so furiously at the beach, as to wound sixteen of the Dutch and force the rest to retire, notwithstanding they were well provided with muskets and ammunition. This was the most unfortunate encounter they had experienced. However, they effected a landing next morning, and by way of revenge burned some of the Indian huts, and brought off a number of cocoas. The natives now convinced of their inability to wage war on equal terms, sued for peace; and offered cocoas, bananas, and ginger, as an atonement for the injury they had done. All disputes being at an end, they went on board, and were perfectly won by a present of a few beads and nails. The next day, the traffic for roots and fruits was carried on with mutual satisfaction.

From some European utensils observed here, it was probable they had been visited before; and indeed what puts this out of all doubt, they expressed much less surprize at the firing of guns, and

and the sight of the ship, than was usual among those who had remained in native ignorance.

On the 21st, they anchored among a cluster of islands, near the mainland, and after two days continuing their course, they were visited by six large canoes bringing dried fish, fruits, and tobacco for exchange. From another island, some Indians came off with provisions and China ware. Like all the other natives of these countries, the new visitors shewed an extreme partiality for iron and beads. Their arms were bows and arrows; and their principal ornaments, glass ear-rings of various colours, by which it was plain, they had been in the habit of trading with Europeans.

On the 24th, they passed a pleasant island, to which they gave the appellation of Schouten; though it is now distinguished in maps by the title of Horn Island. Five days after, at night, the felt such a violent concussion of the earth, that the men ran frightened on deck, under the alarming impression that the ship had ran aground, or bulged on a rock. But the unfathomable depth of the sea soon convinced them, that this phenomenon arose from an earthquake. Next day they were overtaken by a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, the latter of which was so vivid and so strong, that had it not been for prodigious falls of rain, the ship would have been in danger of being set on fire.

The 31st at eve, they again crossed the equator; and, soon after, supposed that they must have reached the extremity of the continent of New Guinea, having sailed upwards of two hundred and eighty leagues along its shores.

Several

Several canoes came off, on the 5th of August, with Indian beans, rice, tobacco, and two birds of paradise. The beauty of these birds is well known. The Dutch purchased one of them, which is said to have been white and yellow. A naturalist is confounded when he reads the bald descriptions of early voyagers : he may distinguish the genus, but the species it is impossible to discover.

These Indians spoke the language of Ternate, and some of them Malayan and Spanish. They were splendidly dressed in loose silk girdles, or breeches. Among them were some Mahometans, with rich turbans. Their hair was a deep black ; and their fingers were adorned with a profusion of gold and silver rings. Though these people did not absolutely decline a barter with the Dutch, for beads and other toys, they seemed to set the greatest value on linen. They appeared jealous and suspicious of the Dutch ; and unwilling to give them any information respecting the country or its name.

Weighing from this place, which was afterwards found to be Gilola, the Dutch proceeded to the northward, and on the 18th of August, were saluted by two canoes of Ternate. These people displayed a white flag, and in a friendly manner informed the Dutch, that they came from the village of Soppy, where they had lately seen an English ship, and a pinnace from Amsterdam, which had waited a long time for a loading of rice.

Schouten was piloted into the Road of Soppy, by his friendly visitors ; and heard a confirmation of what they had stated to him, respecting the European ships ; and what was still more agreeable,

ble, that provisions might be obtained here, to enable them to proceed. So much joy did this diffuse through the crew, that there were public rejoicings among them. Their stock was almost wholly exhausted; and as all the men were healthy and vigorous, they had no other fear or care, save what arose from their scanty stores, or the difficulty of replenishing them.

They left this place on the 25th, and on the 1st of next month, a party landed on the Isle of Moro, which appeared a desert spot; and indeed it was found impossible to make any progress in it, from the height and steepness of the mountains.

On the 5th, they came to an anchor off the coast of Gilola, where some of the mariners landing unarmed, were surpris'd by four soldiers of Ternate, while they were drawing a net, and had it not been for the presence of mind of one of them, who called out, *Oran Hollanda*, it is probable they would have all been sacrific'd. At the sound of these words the Indian soldiers stopp'd; and throwing water on their heads, which is here an ensign of peace, civilly assur'd them that they were welcome, and that they had mistaken them for Spaniards. At the request of the seamen, who were anxious to return the kindness they had received, these soldiers went on board, and met with the most hospitable entertainment, for which they engag'd to bring provisions and refreshments.

For some days, nothing important occurred. However, on the 17th, they came to an anchor before Malaya in Ternate, where Schouten and La Maire landed, and were well entertained by the General, the Governor of Amboyna, the Admiral Verhagen, and the whole Indian council.

Next

Next day these adventurers parted with two of their shallops and a variety of articles, for which they received, in money, one thousand three hundred and fifty rials, with part of which they purchased some necessary provisions. Here several men and boys, being desirous of entering into the company's service, Schouten readily consented, having more than his complement. The general treated the voyagers with all possible respect and attention; and thus far, every thing had fallen out as favourably as they could possibly desire.

But the crisis was now approaching, that was to determine their labours. Having anchored at Jacatra in Bantam, on the 28th of October, where they found three Dutch and as many English ships; on the last day of that month, John Peterfon Koen, the president of the Dutch East India Company at Bantam, summoned the captain and supercargoes, before the council of the Indies, and after a very short preface, ordered them to deliver up the ship and cargo immediately, by virtue of the commission with which he was invested. The adventurers modestly, but firmly represented, that this seizure was illegal, since they had not entered the Indies by either of the interdicted passes, but by one of their own discovery, which they assured him would be of infinite advantage to the commerce of their country, and to the world. When the fiat of power is passed, it is in vain to argue against its decree: all the satisfaction they could receive from the president was, that they were free to apply for redress at home. This transaction took place on Monday, the 1st of November, according to the reckoning of the Unity, and on Tuesday the 2d, according to those who had sailed directly from Holland. For as the Unity had sailed westward,

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they

they had one sun-setting less than those who had failed to the east.

Thus, at the moment when the principal difficulties of the voyage had been surmounted, and the conductors were congratulating each other on their happy success, a fatal blow, as unexpected as unmerited, terminated their hopes, and threw them into despair. La Maire died of grief in a very short time after the loss of the vessel. The ship's company disposed of themselves, according to their various inclinations. Some entered into the service of the East; others returned home in the Amsterdam and Zealand, under the command of Admiral Spilbergen.

The Amsterdam doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 6th of March, and, on the 31st of the same month, reached St. Helena; where they found the Zealand, from which they had long been separated. On the 24th of August, they crossed the equinoctial, and, on the 1st of July, arrived safely at Zealand, with the honour of having succeeded in the attempt, but bereft of the advantages which fairly were their own.

This voyage, round the world, was performed in two years and eighteen days; and when the nature of their undertaking and the difficulties they had to contend with are considered, it will appear surprising, that only four men were lost by sickness, and that one of these died of a broken heart.

Though the Dutch so rudely treated the discoverers, they were not a little proud of the discovery. It is thus that projectors are often rewarded; and Schouten and La Maire add to the number of those who contribute to the benefit of society, at the loss of all that is valuable to themselves.

EXPEDITION OF
COMMODORE BEAULIEU,
TO THE
EAST INDIES.

WHEN the power of the Portuguese began to decline in the east, the French, among other nations, endeavoured to come in for a participation of the trade of that country; and accordingly, about the year 1616, formed a plan of extending their intercourse to the Indies.

M. Beaulieu was an officer of distinguished character, both for the integrity of his conduct and the extent of his abilities. He had been engaged in several maritime undertakings, and among the rest, on an expedition up the River Gambia, on the coast of Africa. No sooner had the government of his country adopted the idea of an expedition to the East Indies, for commercial purposes, than his merit pointed him out for the command; and for once, we are happy to record, that merit was his only recommendation.

The account he has given of his enterprise, is universally admired for candid statement, and easy unaffected detail. It has all the naiveté of an ingenuous Frenchman; and we should be doing an injustice to our readers, did we alter the form of the narrative. We wish to preserve the author's own manner, in a faithful abstract

of his work ; and are more ambitious to give a correct translation than to improve on the original.

“ I sailed from Honfleur Road, October 2 1619, with three ships ; the Montmorancy, of four hundred and fifty tons, one hundred and sixty-two men, twenty-two guns, and twenty padereroes ; the Hope, of four hundred tons, one hundred and seventeen men, twenty-six guns, and twenty padereroes ; and an advice boat, called the Hermitage, of seventy-five tons, thirty men, eight guns, and eight padereroes : all victualled for two years and a half. On the 17th we came in sight of Madeira, but though it is much elevated, the weather was so foggy, that we could scarcely discern it at any distance. As the Montmorancy was deeply laden, and encumbered with an unwieldy rudder, we resolved to make the best of our way to Sierra Leona, in order to have a new one made, or to render the old one more easily manageable.

“ On the 1st of November we made the coast of Africa, and next day doubling Cape Verd, coasted along the shore, with a view of getting into Rufisco Road ; but the wind being adverse, we were obliged to desist.

“ Having resolved to send the advice boat to the Idol Islands to purchase provisions, I furnished her with cassave and knives, which are suitable articles for those islands, and reinforced her complement with Captain Soyer and six soldiers, ordering Captain Ridel, who had charge of the vessel, not to trust the natives without hostages, nor to stay there above three days at most ; but to rejoin us at Tagrin with all possible expedition.

We

“ We descried the Idol Islands on the 19th. They are woody, and except Tagrin, are the highest land between Cape Verd and Cape Sierra Leona. The largest and most southern of these islands is called the Great Idol; which affords water and a variety of fowls; but no confidence ought to be placed in its inhabitants without security. The Lesser Idol is not very populous; but it is also furnished with water. Besides these two, there are other smaller islands, undistinguished by any name. The natives are great hunters, and subsist chiefly on elephant's flesh.

“ On the 23d of November we arrived at Cape Sierra Leona, and cast anchor at Tagrin. Having brought the rudder of my ship on shore, and fortified the place where the carpenter's were at work on it, I took a short excursion up the country; and at the bottom of the creek, discovered a small stream of clear sweet water, meandering through citrons, willows, and other kinds of trees and shrubs which fringed its banks. I also observed some plains adapted for pasturage, though the soil is mixed with loose stones and iron coloured rocks.

“ The natives have better houses than those of Cape Verd: they are gross idolaters, worshipping little frightful images, and small lumps of black earth, which I understood to be the nests of ants. To these they offer fruits, and the heads of monkeys and other beasts.

“ The place where we lay was the third creek from Sierra Leona, and is extremely convenient for taking in water, wood, and several kinds of fruits. We were likewise supplied with rice in exchange for equal quantities of salt. The country, however, is very thinly stocked with animals

animals or fowls, but all the creeks abound in fish.

“ At this place two negroes came on board, one of whom was armed with a bow and arrows, a sword and a knife; the other, who acted as interpreter, told me, they were sent by the king to inform me, that the Portuguese, up the river, had murdered the captain and the entire crew of a bark belonging to St. Malo; that the king was sorry for this melancholy event, and that, if I was inclined to revenge it, he would furnish me with negroes to conduct me to the spot.

“ This intelligence, at first hearing, gave me a suspicion that the message was an artifice of the Portuguese to entrap me in some way or other; but on reflection, I concluded, the event was not improbable, considering the weakness of the St. Malo ship; and I conceived, that the reputation of the French would be lessened, if I slighted this national insult. I, therefore, resolved to send a detachment as directed; but to prevent any surprize, I ordered the rudder to be carried on board, which now only wanted the iron-work to be complete. After securing the principal avenues to the place where we lay, I dispatched an armed force, consisting of the sloop and two boats, up the river, all under the command of M. Monteurier; but this officer soon returned, and reported, that he had proceeded ten or twelve leagues up the river without meeting any of the Portuguese; and that the water became so shallow, and so intersected with rocks, as to endanger the vessels, had he persevered any longer.

“ Leaving this coast, the weather became variable, as is usual in these latitudes. On the 6th

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Dieppe f

of January we crossed the line ; and did not neglect the regular ceremony of the French, in drenching with salt water such as had never passed the equinoctial before.

“ Being becalmed, about the beginning of February, we saw two enormous fishes, with long beaks or horns *, which seemed to be of that species which is known to pierce ships. I could scarcely have credited the stories I have heard of their penetrating vessels, had not the governor of Dieppe shewn me a piece of the beak of such a fish, extracted from the side of a ship belonging to that port ; the captain of which informed him, that as he was sailing from the coast of Brasil towards the Cape, he perceived something strike against his vessel with great force, but could not account for the shock, till after his return from the Indies ; when the ship was laid up, and the beak discovered to have run five inches into the wood.

“ One of the fishes I saw seemed to be about ten feet long, exclusive of its protuberance. It was of a dark blue colour ; and its fins and tail, which were very large, appeared in the sea of a bright azure. It had a lump on its back, resembling that of an Indian sea-calf. Its head bore some likeness to that of a porpoise ; and ended in a horn or beak, about two feet long, and as thick as a boy's wrist. It is very strong and nimble, for I have seen it fly at a bonitos, with which it wages continual war ; and have often observed the sea tinged with the blood of

* Is this the xiphias, or sword fish ? As a confirmation of the Dieppe story, see Schouten and La Maire's voyage.

such tenants of the deep as it had wounded. I am convinced, there are some fish of this kind larger than what I saw at this time, which attack whales; and it is not improbable, but that they occasionally mistake a ship for their prey.

" In our passage towards the Cape of Good Hope, we observed sea weeds three or four fathoms long, numerous marine fowls, sea-bears, and shoals of porpoises and whales. On the 11th of March, towards night, we discovered land; but did not reach Table Bay till the 15th, when we cast anchor; and in this long run we had lost only one boy.

" Next day I sent fifty men on shore, with sails, in order to erect tents. On the return of the boat I was informed, that they had seen the bodies of several men, and clothes scattered up and down, and a small fortification of earth.

" Some musketeers having been sent in quest of a soldier who was missing, gave such an interesting account of the country, that my curiosity was excited to see it. Accordingly, the next day I walked out behind the Table Mountain; and having advanced three leagues, observed the ground covered with grass, interspersed with a variety of beautiful flowers, while a small rivulet of fresh water, gliding along the plain, lost itself in the sea, at the bottom of the bay. To the southward of the Table Mountain, near its base, I observed a great number of trees, capable of furnishing large planks, with a reddish bark and a straight trunk. I also found herbs of the same kind as those which are common in France, fennel, fern, and broom. The mountains were covered with fallow deer, monkeys, baboons, lions,

wolves,

wolves, foxes, porcupines, ostriches, partridges, and all sorts of fowls, with other animals unknown to me.

" Table Bay enjoys a salubrious air ; and it is a safe road to anchor in. There are, however, more rain and wind in the bay than on the shore ; for the high mountains intercept the clouds and vapours, which, of consequence, being impelled by the winds, fall into the sea.

" Some of our men going on shore, happened to light on a large stone, under which were two packages of pitched canvass ; on opening which, and taking off several envelopes, we found some Dutch letters. These contained an account of several ships that had passed that way, and, particularly, of an English advice boat, that carried intelligence of the injurious treatment that nation had received from the Dutch. They also cautioned, whoever might touch here, to beware of the natives, who had murdered several of the crew. Farther, it was stated, that the Dutch had besieged Bantam with thirty-five ships, and that the English were forced to abandon it for want of provisions.

" We weighed anchor on the 3d of April ; and being becalmed about two leagues from the Bay, were driven by the current near a small island of a circular figure, and about a league round. It is entirely covered with sand and bushes, and is the resort of penguins and sea-bears. It also is full of serpents, camelions, and lizards.

" While ashore here, such a storm set in from the south-east, that I could not reach the ship till next day. Soon after, it thundered and lightened most violently ; and when this abated, the westerly winds began to blow, accompanied with

with such a dense fog, that we could not see from one end of the ship to the other. On this I ordered the other ships to follow me, by the sound of trumpets and drums, and returned to Table Bay.

"In a few days we weighed anchor again; but having little wind, it was the 14th before we doubled the Cape. On the 16th, we had a severe storm from the north-east, which we foresaw the night before. Under the wind there appeared a great black cloud, in the centre of which we observed what the Portuguese call the ox-eye, which is generally esteemed the harbinger of a storm. The sea swelled prodigiously, and the tempest was very violent indeed; notwithstanding which, the air was so clear, that we could see the rising and setting of the stars by night. In this storm the ships were separated; but when the wind abated, to my great joy and surprize, we all joined without having suffered the least damage.

"On the 1st of May, I dispatched the Hope, Captain Grave, to Bantam; and on the 18th, anchored in St. Augustin's Bay, in the Island of Madagascar.

"Next day I went, with two long boats and fifteen musketeers, to take a view of the river. As we approached the shore, a party of negroes made a signal to join them, on which we landed; and though they plainly saw we were armed, they continued with us above an hour, giving us to understand, by their language and signs, that they were well pleased with our arrival, and would visit us next day on board. These people were very curious in examining what we had about us; and one of them, who seemed to be a

chief, spying a silver whistle, with a chain, in the possession of an officer, very earnestly begged it of him. On this I ordered it to be shewn him; but gave them all to understand that it was not to be sold, though one offered an ox for it. However, I made them sensible, that on board they would be accommodated with many things, which would be equally acceptable to them.

"Immediately, the principal persons, and three attendants, embarked with us; making signs that the same number of our men might be left, to which I consented. These negroes were very handsome, comparatively speaking. They were tall and well shaped; and had neither flat noses nor thick lips. Their hair was long and curiously done up in wreathes atop. They wear cotton cloth, woven of different colours, round their waist, but have no other covering. The chief, as he appeared, had a large plate of bone, or ivory, on his forehead; a large copper ring at his ears; and about his neck, a collar of raffade, and strings of glass beads, besides a fine yellow amber necklace, on which he set a high value. All the rest had corresponding ornaments, except the plate on the forehead.

"Circumcision seems to have been long established among these people; and it is probable they received it from the Mahometans on the coast of Ethiopia, who have long kept up an intercourse with Madagascar.

"It appeared our visitors had left their women at some small distance in the woods; and some of our men told me they were very agreeable, and dressed from the breasts to the knees.

“ When the negroes came first on board the ship, they were astonished at her size ; and seemed much delighted with the sound of the trumpets and drums. I presented them with some enamelled rings and other toys ; and endeavoured to entertain them till supper was ready. Meanwhile the sea-sickness began to overtake them, on which they shewed a desire to go on deck, and lie down on a sail. One of the party being less affected with illness than the rest, bantered his companions with much humour, and imitated every word he heard our men utter. In short, they all seemed to have a turn for wit, and were possessed of a quick perception, of which we had a strong testimony, by the facility with which they apprehended our signs.

“ Next morning I found my guests pretty well recovered, and upon their legs. I then shewed such articles as I imagined would be most gratifying ; such as coral, amber, rasiades of all colours, copper and tin vessels, clothes, knives, razors, and combs, all which they would have been happy to have possessed ; but when I gave intimations that some of their horned cattle would be acceptable to me, they always recurred to the silver whistle and chain.

“ Finding I could do no good with them, I ordered them to be set on shore, and some of our men to carry specimens of such articles as were most grateful to our visitors ; in hopes that their countrymen might be induced to barter with us. On this one of them contracted to exchange a wild ox for a copper basin ; but the chief, with the ivory plate, speaking to him, he returned the basin, and wanted the whistle and chain.

In short, the whistle and chain seemed to have engaged all their attention.

" Next day, the natives having come down with their cattle, I sent some of our men to meet them, with steel and copper chains, and toys of various kinds, enjoining them to conceal the silver chain; and not to exchange it till other lures had failed. However, they gave me to understand, that nothing but silver chains would be accepted, and that as much in length as would go round the neck, and meet with the two ends at the navel, would do no more than purchase one cow. Unwilling to part with the silver chain, and at the same time in want of their cattle, I ordered a goldsmith on board, to make a pewter chain out of a plate. I was led to this, by finding, that when silver and pewter spoons were intermixed, the negroes preferred the pewter, as being brightest, and seemed to value it even more than gold.

" After some trifling exchanges of hens, capons, milk, and peas for European articles, I sent the pewter chain on shore, but they soon perceived that it was not the original object of their wishes. However, we procured fowls, javelins, and darts, and a sheep for some rassade, of which they began to grow fond. These people work very neatly in iron and copper; and their javelins and darts were fabricated of as good iron as any in Spain. We procured a small quantity of rice, at a very high price: it did not appear to be very plentiful among them.

" On the 27th, the negroes brought down as many cattle as covered a quarter of a league, still demanding the silver chain for an ox, the red rassade for a sheep, and the blue for their milk.

milk. Finding their continued partiality for the chain, I demanded three oxen and a sheep for it; and as I was marketing in my long boat, the king sent to invite me on shore to shew him the chain. This invitation I declined; but let his majesty know, that if he would condescend to come on board, he should be perfectly safe, and that I would give him hostages. After some deliberation he came on board; but I was sorry I had no suitable present to make him. However, observing he eyed four strings of red rascade, which I held in my hand, with some attention, I begged they might be acceptable to him. Insignificant as this present was, he accepted it with pleasure; and gave me a sheep in return. I was much inclined to have given him half the silver chain, which was five feet and a half long, and weighed three ounces and a half; but reflecting, that if I parted with this admired curiosity, I should have nothing to tempt them with, I desisted from my intention. Some time after, the king sent me one of the finest oxen I ever saw, which was purchased for half the chain. It was with great difficulty we could get the animal on board; it stood several shots in the head, as well as blows with an ax, before we could make any impression on it; and at last were obliged to drown it, before we could succeed in conveying it to the ship.

“ Next day the natives returned with a great number of cattle to barter. I made much better bargains than heretofore; but having allowed some of my men to trade for themselves, the natives wishing to take the advantage of them, doubled the price; on which I ordered them to rejoin me in the boat. I had no sooner done

this

this than the king flew into a rage, and commanded the natives to retire; when, fearing lest our mutual amity might be interrupted, I made a signal to speak with him, on which he came down to the shore. Having made him a present of a cutlass, with a silver hilt, and given assurances that it was the earnest desire, both of myself and my men, to live in friendship with him and his people, his majesty appeared reconciled, and loudly expressed his joy. On this I caused the trumpets to sound and the drums to beat; and ordered a party of my men to land, and shake hands with the natives. Meanwhile the chief made me sit down by him, and expressed so much pleasure at hearing the trumpets and drums, that he offered me an ox for each of them; but I gave him to understand, that they could not be parted with.

"After this we sold some silver chains for two heifers each, and a string of coral beads for an ox; and at parting, let the negroes know, that I must leave them in a few days. Next day, one of our officers sold four ounces of silver chain for six oxen, which were salted for use.

"On the 1st of June, I went, with twelve men in the skiff, up a creek to reach the mountains; but soon finding our progress stopped by bushes and steep rocks, I rowed some way up an arm of the river, to the southward, where I landed; and ascending the mountains, took a prospect of the country, which was very pleasant and woody.

"During the fifteen days I staid here, I scarcely saw a cloud; yet the heat is by no means excessive, being tempered by the land and sea breezes, which alternately succeed at regular

hours of the day. The air seemed so perfectly salubrious, that we had not one sick person on board. The mountains are a dry rock, the surface of which seems to have suffered the action of fire. The plains are covered with an infinite quantity of bushes and shrubs; among which tamarind trees, ebony, and aloes, rise in abundance. Cucumbers, gourds, beans, peas, a small quantity of rice and citrons, are also among the productions of the country.

“ Every thing being prepared for the continuation of our voyage, we set sail from Madagascar on the 9th of June, had a view of Terra Firma, between Sofala and Mosambique, and passing two small islands, saw a high and sandy coast, backed by a sylvan scene.

“ On the 13th, we came in sight of the Comoro Islands, which are lofty and conspicuous objects. Next day we coasted along Majotta, which appeared covered with verdure, and well inhabited. Here we discovered a small vessel; on which I sent out the long boat, with ten mulketeers, to bring intelligence, who reported, that she was bound to Mecca, and that the captain, suspecting us to be Dutch, had conveyed all the lading on shore.

“ The captain of this vessel shewed me two letters, one from an English commander, of the name of Martin, the other from Captain Banner, to inform their countrymen, that they had found several refreshments at that place; but could not procure water: that linen, cloth, and paper, might be advantageously disposed of there; and adding a caution respecting the natives, who, on any slight provocation, were apt to take a severe revenge.

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“ The road being surrounded with rocks, I was advised to employ a pilot from the shore, which I accordingly did; and before sun-set, our ship was safe at anchor. I then dismissed the Arabian captain, with assurances of the innocence of our designs, and of the pacific disposition of the French nation, together, with a letter to the same purport, addressed in Spanish, to the king of the island.

“ In reply, the king dispatched some of his principal courtiers to assure us of his friendship, and promptitude to supply us with the products of his country. On this, I sent his majesty a present of a silver-hilted dagger, a ream of paper, and a mirror, which were highly acceptable; and in return, I received a kid and some fruit. At the same time I requested the Arabian captain, who was on shore, to purchase some necessities for me; promising to send such commodities as were proper to be given in exchange. But the captain sent me word, that so dilatory were the natives in concluding the most trifling bargain, it would be some days before he could effect any thing in my service; and I was also informed, that a Portuguese carrack having been cast away about three years before, the inhabitants found such a stock of rials, that they now set little value on them.

“ Observing a couple of country ships, I procured an interview with the captains on board; and found they were laden with rice and dried fish for Mombaze. Next day they supplied me with rice, peas, and hung beef, sufficient for four months, which was very agreeable, as it saved an infinite waste of time in trafficking with
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the natives. Besides, I began to entertain a very indifferent opinion of their principles; for while we were sounding, in order to find anchorage, they made a signal for us to pass over a ledge of rocks, which they supposed would have escaped our observation. The value of the Portuguese wreck had, probably, tempted them to wish us to experience a similar fate.

" Finding the water brackish, I weighed anchor on the 21st, when my Arabian friend, understanding that I designed to double Cape Comorin, advised me to take shelter at the Isle of Socotora for six weeks, in order to escape the periodical storms on the coast of Malabar.

" The island where we lay was about fifteen leagues in length, and three or four in breadth. We could discover no safe anchorage; that where our ship rode was dangerous and difficult to find. The island itself is pleasant from the sea, rising gradually into hills covered with trees. The houses are generally ranged along the shore, and are sheltered by cocoa, orange, and citron trees.

" The oranges are small, but deliciously flavoured. The inhabitants are zealous Mahometans; and are marked with a hot iron on their temples, and in the middle of their foreheads.

" Small as this island is, it is governed by fifteen petty kings, who are frequently at war with each other. The most powerful of the number resides in the vicinity of the place where we anchored. Their prisoners they sell for slaves to the Portuguese and other nations. We saw few arms among the natives, except a few fuzees and pistols belonging to the king, with which he had

been

been presented by the English. Their attention to strangers is very great; but they could not refrain from ridiculing some of our European customs.

“ Eight days after we left the Comoro Islands, we crossed the equinoctial; and on the 1st of July, the wind was so strong, that we sailed fifty five leagues in twenty-four hours, with most of our sails furled.

“ Three days after, we cast anchor near Cape Orpin; but the high winds continuing, we could neither hoist a sail, nor send a boat on shore, till the 3d of August. However, I now determined to proceed to Cape Guardafui. With this view I had the long boat fitted out and supplied with provisions, directing the men to land, and obtain intelligence from the natives where fresh water was to be found.

“ They returned on the 12th, and reported that they had coasted the shore under steep mountains, from the summits of which they were annoyed by stones, which obliged them to keep at a distance; and notwithstanding all the signs of peace and amity they could make, the natives threatened them with destruction, if they attempted to land. They then steered to another part of the coast, where some of them pursuing a break in the precipice, soon had a view of a champaign country, as far as the eye could reach, in which there were neither trees nor herbage. They saw a few of the inhabitants who fled their approach. Next day, proceeding farther to the westward, they observed some more of the natives, but could not prevail on them to enter into the most distant familiarity. Doubling a cape, they sailed into a wide and shallow bay, where two Arabs were fishing,

fishing, but they likewise fled. Our men landing, saw many people; but notwithstanding the display of a white flag, they all fled, repeating *Illa Alla illa la Mohammed refulala*, which is the brief confession of the Mahometan faith. After they had reembarked, the natives began to shew themselves again; but neither friendship nor force could bring them to an intercourse.

"We weighed on the 17th, and two days after came to an anchor within Cape Guardafui. Soon after, I sent one boat's crew in quest of fresh water to the south, and another along the shore to the north-westward. At the same time, I dispatched my skiff, to try what success we could have in fishing; but she soon returned without any. Those who had sailed to the southward in search of water, informed me, that they had travelled several leagues into the country, which they found arid, sterile, and intolerably hot. The other boat's crew reported, that having proceeded about three leagues, they came to a place of some apparent fertility, and going on shore, met ten or twelve negroes; who being questioned about water, made a previous demand of a piece of cotton cloth, belonging to one of the seamen, as a reward for the discovery, which being complied with, they shewed the situation of some ditches and wells.

"Coming to an anchor, about four leagues from Cape Guardafui, near some bushes and herbage, which are not very usual on this coast, we found plenty of water on digging only a foot deep. This was perfectly sweet to the taste at first; but in a short time became very salt; so that we were obliged to dig in more than seventy

different

different places, to obtain twenty-two tuns of water fit for keeping.

We weighed anchor again on the 27th, and after a short run, fell in with rapid tides, and observed the sea in much commotion and stained with red spots. A consultation of pilots being called, it was resolved to sail backwards and forwards in the Red Sea, for about the space of a week, lest we should reach the coast of Malabar too early.

“At the mouth of the Red Sea, and a considerable way along its shores, there are prodigious shoals of fishes, particularly thorn-backs, some of which are enormously large, and with difficulty pierced. This part of the coast of Arabia is sandy and low; but the more interior parts rise into mountains, which were constantly enveloped in fogs during our stay.

“Leaving the Red Sea on the 10th of September, we came in sight of the Malabar coast on the 26th; and two days after, seeing a ship to the windward, I sent M. Monteurier with twenty-three men, in the long boat, with orders not to board her; but to obtain information respecting the navigation of the coast. Some time after, I perceived our men on board the ship, and in a short time a boat came off towards us. Being becalmed, and feeling some anxiety to know the event, I sent out our ikiff, to learn, as speedily as possible, what news they brought. On its return, I had the pain to hear, that the people in the boat were five of our men, three of whom were dangerously wounded; and these coming on board, gave the subsequent account. That upon approaching the vessel, M. Monteurier ordered them to lower their sails, which they not complying with,

with, he immediately fired into her two brass guns, and a volley of musket shot, on which she struck, and our men boarded her, by the quarter deck, killing all the men abaft. They now thought themselves secure in the possession of their prize; when all at once, sixty or eighty men started up in the fore-castle, and attacking our men with hangers and shields in their hands, made lamentable havoc. Finding themselves overpowered, they wished to retire to the boat, but found her so belayed, that it was impossible to disengage her. Several leaped into the sea and were drowned, one more fortunate swam to the Arabs' boat; and having cut the cable, saved himself and four more from the fury of the enemy, and the voracious abyss.

" Chagrined at this disaster, I made all possible expedition to come up with the enemy, and having boarded her, found only fifteen poor miserable old men, with long flowing beards; who throwing themselves at my feet, excited my pity rather than revenge. And, indeed, the concurrent testimony of the five men who were saved, went to exculpate these persons from any share in the conflict. These poor objects informed me, that the ship having carried a cargo of pepper to Mecca, was on her return to Panama, near Calicut, to which she belonged; and that their view was to become mendicants on the coast. That the owners of the ship, to the number of eighty, had gone off the night before, in our boat, with all the gold and silver, and had left them to their fate.

In every point of view, I considered these mendicants as innocent; and, indeed, the avarice and cruelty of our own men, were the chief causes of

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their misfortunes; for as the Moors had struck, it did not appear that they meditated any farther resistance, till they found their comrades were massacred, and that they must defend themselves or die. On board the ship I found a great quantity of dates, wine, salt, two puncheons of opium, some hundred weight of coral, cottons, and rose-water.

"We now stood for Ticow, but owing to the frequent calms, and the deplorable state of the health of the crews, our progress was extremely slow. On board the pinnace, only two or three hands were fit for business; and in my own ship, not more than eighteen. What aggravated our calamity, was the death of two of our surgeons.

"In this situation, I descried several ships of the country under sail, and to induce them to approach us, I hung out a white flag, but finding this had no effect, I dispatched the skiff to speak with the nearest; and having, with some difficulty, removed the apprehensions of danger from us, I at last engaged a pilot for thirty-five pieces of eight, to conduct us to Ticow. This vessel belonged to Priaman, a town eight or ten leagues to the southward of Ticow, which, we were informed, lay behind some islands ahead of us.

"Having passed these islands, we came in sight of a high promontory, which had two banks; on one of which we narrowly escaped running foul. After weathering this dangerous place, we saw another bank ahead of us, on which we steered between the two, with great caution, and dropped anchor at night.

"At last we descried the three islands of Ticow, having spent two months, on a voyage frequently performed in eight days, and landed there on

the 1st of December. During this unfortunate part of our progress, we had lost twenty-five men; and, had we been a few days longer at sea, it is probable few or none would have survived.

“ As soon as we had cast anchor, we sent the skiff ashore, which soon returned with a person named Pedro, who had been interpreter to the English factory. From him I learned, that though the country was fertile in pepper, we should not be allowed to purchase any without a licence from the King of Achen, who was sovereign of the whole coast. He also informed me, that the Hope had touched about twenty leagues off, five months before; and that her long boat was sent, with fifteen men, to this place, to take in provisions, and that a Dutch ship, in the road, had fired upon the men, pretending that they took them for English. He farther added, that the French met with a kind reception at Ticow, and afterwards failing to rejoin the Hope, were disappointed in finding her; on which they returned again to this place, where several of them died, others entered into the Dutch service, and one remained in the country, where he earned a subsistence by gathering pepper.

“ The imprudence of Captain Grave, in sending his long boat at such a distance from the ship, affected me much. On farther enquiry I was informed, that it was probable the Hope had been driven from her anchors by a storm, and made the best of her way to Bantam, in expectation that I should touch here, according to my known intention, and take up her men.

“ Having obtained permission to go on shore I carried some presents along with me, which

understood were necessary to make me welcome. On my landing, the governor and principal officers gave me an honourable reception; and having explained my country and my business, they informed me that I was at liberty to purchase provisions, but nothing else, provided I paid for them in rials and knives. As for pepper and other commodities of the country, they could not be disposed of without a permission from the king; but, if I was inclined to sail to Achen, and solicit his majesty's leave to establish a factory, they should be happy to entertain us on terms of reciprocity.

" I then requested permission to hire a house for the accommodation of my sick men, and to remove them on shore; to which they replied, that they could not answer for the safety of my men, on account of the number of banditti with which the town abounded; but that I might leave two men for a few days to buy up provisions.

" However, the governor having made me a present of a buffalo and some fruit, I went to return him thanks; and by dint of presents and persuasion, obtained his leave to rent a house, in which I lodged forty-five of the sick, with three surgeons, and some other attendants. In the mean while, the Governor of Priaman, having made me several presents, earnestly requested I would pay him a visit. To this I made due acknowledgments, and promised to have the honour of waiting on him the first opportunity.

" Soon after three gallies, belonging to the King of Achen, arrived at Ticow, with an elephant and three hundred men in each; and the inhabitants informed me, that they expected a

farther reinforcement of men and elephants, to carry on a war against a prince who had revolted. Considering that my men were necessarily dispersed, and that sometimes I had but few on board; while the natives visited me in large parties, and an armed force surrounded me, I judged it prudent to order the hatches to be secured, and a rail to be run between the masts, strengthened by some padereroes on wheels. I also mounted a guard on the deck, and adopted some other precautions to prevent surprize.

" In a few days I again went on shore, and finding my men recovered but slowly, requested leave of the governor to prolong their stay, which he readily granted; but entreated me to proceed as soon as I could to Achen, to have the king's sanction for the establishment of a factory. He also desired I would drop my jealousy of the inhabitants, assuring me that they would do me no injury, and that my fortification on ship-board was unnecessary. To this last observation I replied, that the confidence I reposed in them, by leaving fifty men in their hands, and coming frequently ashore myself, without any appearance of apprehension, were sufficient proofs of my favourable sentiments. That the design of the barrier in my ship, was to prevent strangers from rushing into my cabin, and that I might be able to make a proper distinction between persons of rank who honoured me with a visit, and those who called on trivial businesses. I also remarked, that hearing two Dutch ships were soon expected, some caution was necessary. The governor said, I had certainly more reason to be jealous of the Dutch than of them; however, if I pleased, he would forbid the natives going

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on board; but this I would by no means agree to, assuring him they were always welcome.

“ The inland country of Ticow is mountainous; but towards the shore it is level, woody, and watered, by several small streams. It is agreeably diversified with meadows, well stored with buffaloes and oxen, which are extremely cheap. The soil produces rice, and a variety of fruits; but the great wealth of the country consists in its pepper, which is in high estimation.

“ The city of Ticow is rather mean, consisting of about eight hundred houses built of reeds, and are neither strong nor convenient. The country, however, is populous, and abounds in provisions.

“ The King of Ticow is subject to the King of Achen, who appoints a new governor every three years; and, without his concurrence, the king of this country can do little of importance. The inhabitants of the city are Malaysans, and their language is common along the coast. The inland parts, however, are still possessed by the aborigines, who disown the authority of the King of Achen, and have a sovereign and language of their own. These are Pagans; and have rich gold mines, which they know not how to work, and therefore satisfy themselves with collecting the particles of that metal deposited in ditches and trenches made by the floods.

“ The Malaysans are Mahometans, and so dishonest and cruel, that even the hour of rest is not secure. From July to October, the air is very unwholesome; and the people are subject to fevers which seldom admit of cure. The value and quantity, however, of the pepper tempts Europeans to resort hither. For want of the

King of Achen's licence, I could neither sell any commodities, nor procure pepper, except about eight thousand pounds that were brought me from Priaman by night.

" On the 1st of January 1621, having recovered our sick, and got all things in order, I weighed anchor, and steered for Achen. I arrived there on the 13th of February, and dropped anchor close by an English vessel of six hundred tons. Immediately a boat came off from the shore with several of the king's officers, carrying a chappe, a dagger with a gold handle and scabbard, the badges of the royal commission. After a profound silence, the king's messenger bid me welcome in his majesty's name, and invited me on shore. Accordingly I prepared myself to accompany him; but before I could leave the ship, found it necessary to pay the officer's dues, and to distribute some presents among his principal attendants.

" On landing, the captain of the English ship politely invited me to dinner, and to make his house my home. I accepted his invitation, and was handsomely entertained. This gentleman complained heavily of the king for demanding an exorbitant price for his pepper, nearly double its real worth. Finding that I could not be admitted to an audience of the king that day, and that he had twice sent his chappe to solicit an emerald I wore on my finger, I returned on board.

" Next day I prepared the present intended for his majesty; and resolving to ingratiate myself with him to the utmost of my ability, took a letter, which I had drawn up, and addressed it
 TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS KING OF ACHEN,
 and

and sealed it with the impression of the arms of France. That my present might not be unworthy of the person, in whose name I designed to offer it, I set apart the following articles: A complete horseman's armour engraved and gilt; a German hanger, with a carved and gilt hilt, from which a pistol was suspended; six muskets, the barrels of which were partly engraved and partly gilt, the butends enriched with mother of pearl; two pike heads enamelled and gilt; a very large mirror; two flasks of excellent rose water; and two pieces of crimson-watered camlet.

"The captain of a Surat vessel, who came to see this display of curiosities, observed that a present of such magnitude was better adapted for the Great Mogul, his master, than for the King of Achen. On the other hand, some of the king's officers gave me to understand, that they thought it not considerable enough for their prince, who was a great sovereign, and had but few equals in the Indies. I replied, that I was not ignorant of the grandeur of his Achenese Majesty, and at the same time, knew the value of the present, which did not come from a private person, but from a great and powerful prince, and was worthy the acceptance of any potentate.

"On the morrow I was conducted to an audience of the king, by the sabandar, and four of the principal orankays, in the subsequent manner. On a large elephant sat one of the chief orankays, in a covered pulpit, who sent me a capacious silver dish, covered with an embroidered cloth of gold and silk, into which I put the letter, and returned it to him. By his command I was mounted on another elephant, together with the sabandar

fabander and two more. The procession began with six trumpets, six drums, and six hautboys, which sounded till our arrival at the palace. Then followed fourteen persons, each carrying some part of my present, covered with yellow cloth, a form necessary to be observed when any thing is to be presented to the king. After them came two orankays on Arabian horses, immediately preceding the elephant letter carrier: and then came the elephant on which I was placed, followed by three sabandars, and all the officers of the Albandoque on foot.

" We alighted at the castle gates, and immediately all the pedestrians were obliged to retire. Having passed two other gates, I was ordered to pull off my shoes, without which ceremony, no one is admitted to his majesty's presence. Some time after, the royal chappe was brought, and being put into my hands, I raised it above my head, and re-delivered it. I was then ordered to advance behind it, being only accompanied by a sabandar and an orankay.

" Having waited some little time at the king's chamber door, which was covered with plates of silver; at last an eunuch came out and announced, that though the king was considerably indisposed, yet as I had come so far, he would introduce me. On which I was led into the chamber by two of the courtiers, who placed me cross-legged on a Turkey carpet, according to the custom of the country. My conductors retiring, I saluted the king in the usual form, by joining my hands and lifting them to my forehead, at the same time inclining it. The etiquette does not require uncovering; but being
accustomed

accustomed to appear before my superiors in that form, I voluntarily took my hat off.

“ The king sat on an elevated seat, and informed me by the sabandar, that he was infinitely obliged to the King of France for his present, which he valued more than ten bahars of gold. He then opened the letter and gave it to the sabandar, who had a smattering of Portuguese, to read. But his knowledge of that language was so imperfect, and the style of the letter so different from the oriental, that the very first words, **MOST ILLUSTRIOUS**, put him to a stand. To relieve him and myself, I fortunately thought of turning it to **DEAR BROTHER**, with which his majesty was much pleased; observing that he knew this was the mode of address between Christian princes. Finding I could not make the sabandar understand it sufficiently, I repeated the substance in short, that his most Christian Majesty requested his Mightiness to grant him a free and unmolested traffic in his dominions; who, in like manner, promised to protect his Mightiness's subjects, should they be disposed to visit his kingdom. That he desired nothing more than that the commerce between his subjects and those of Achen should bring him to the knowledge of so great a prince; and that he had sent a present of arms, in the manufacture of which his subjects excelled.

“ This ended, the king informed me by the sabandar, that I was both safe and welcome in his dominions: that, in regard to trade, the Dutch and English were wont to purchase pepper in his kingdom at an easy rate; but as those nations had ungratefully made war on the King of Bantam, who had given them a kind reception, fearful

ful lest they should serve him in a similar manner, he had ordered all the pepper plants to be cut down; by which the price of that commodity was considerably raised; and that he did not wish to deal with them on any terms.

“ I replied, that the insolence of the Dutch, in attempting to dethrone kings who had befriended them, would affect the sensibilities of the French; and that I was astonished that a people, who pretended to nothing more than a fair trade, and whom the King of France had long protected against the Spaniards, should forget the obligations they were under to our nation, and endeavour to injure them in this quarter of the globe. I added, that I had no commission to use any manner of violence, or to erect any fortifications, but only to buy and sell on fair and equitable terms.

“ The king now ordered some sallad to be served up for me in a golden dish; and a suit of his own clothes were brought in a silver vessel, which I was requested to put on. Having retired to an adjoining chamber, to equip myself in these new habiliments, I returned to his majesty, who observed, that the arms my master had sent him, would be very serviceable to him in the siege of Malacca, which he had in contemplation; and that he should be happy if I would accompany him thither. I rejoined, that it would be my supreme felicity to do him any service.

“ He then interrogated me in respect to the age and power of the king my master; and on telling his majesty, that the King of France was at peace with all the world, and in particular

with

with the Grand Signior, he said he would enter into a strict alliance with him.

“ Thus ended our interview—and I was again mounted on an elephant, and conducted home.

“ Three days after, being invited to a conference with the king, he shewed me the two pike heads, which had originally been enamelled; but his majesty wishing to have them carved and gilt, had put them into the hands of his goldsmith, who, putting them into the fire, destroyed the paint. The king wished to know if it could be replaced by any of my people; but on telling him it could not, he barbarously ordered the poor fellow's hands to be chopped off, who had put the pikes in the fire.

“ His majesty then observed that he heard I had a goldsmith on board, and wished me to order him to enamel a large gold ring for him, weighing above an ounce, which he accordingly placed in my hands.

This prince had a taste for the lapidary and goldsmith's arts, and employed no fewer than three hundred persons in those branches of business. He favoured me with the sight of a great number of precious stones, both set and unset; several necklaces, and chains of large emeralds; garments embroidered with jewels; vessels of gold set with gems; swords, hangers, and daggers, with both hilts and scabbards similarly enriched; and a vast number of fibulæ, or clasps, to fasten on his robes. To magnify the superabundance of his collection still more, he gave me to understand, that six days would not be sufficient to display the whole.

“ That his majesty was ostentatiously fond of those articles was very clear; for though he had some jewels of real and immense value; in general,

neral, his collection was more calculated for show than solid worth.

"A few of the diamonds might weigh from fifteen to twenty carats each. There were two very large rubies; and an emerald obtained in the conquest of Peca, which was one of the most beautiful stones I ever beheld. On leaving his majesty, I set the goldsmith to work; but was concerned we had one on board, apprehensive that we might be delayed on his account, should the king be pleased with his performances.

"On the 19th I had the honour of an invitation to dinner. When I arrived I was ushered into a square hall, the floor of which was spread with a Turkey carpet, on which I was seated; and after a repast of fallad, in a large gold dish, the cover of which was enriched with emeralds, he asked me some questions relative to the grandeur and power of the Christian princes.

"Thirty women then appeared, each carrying a large silver dish, covered with a cloth of gold and silk with jewels, trailing on the ground. The dishes being uncovered, each contained six gold plates filled with meat, pastry, and dried sweet meats. In a moment I was surrounded with dishes of gold; and among the rest of the viands, were two dishes of tembeck, in high estimation in the east, of which the king desired I would eat. It is a particular preparation of rice, and I found it very palatable.

"Afterwards an eunuch presented me with some liquor in a gold cup, on which I drank to his majesty's better health, and thought to have tossed off the whole; but found the potion so strong and fiery, that I was obliged to breathe; when the king told me, that as I had drank to his

health, I must finish the cup; and that had he given the King of France, he would not have left a drop of the liquor. However, on requesting the indulgence, I was accommodated with a weaker kind of drink. My cross-legged position soon became tiresome to me; and though I was pressed to eat and drink, I was quickly fatiated.

“The dishes being removed, the king bid me once more drink his health, which having complied with; a very fine carpet, the ground of which was gold, was spread between me and the king. Then came a party of women, each with a little drum, who, ranging themselves against the wall, sung the king's conquests, to the beat of their drums. This over, two girls, very fantastically dressed, appeared. In beauty and fairness they exceeded any I had ever seen in such hot climates, and the richness of their apparel served to heighten their personal charms. They wore a kind of hat of gold sparkles, exceeding lustrous, with a plume of the same glittering materials, gracefully placed on one side of the head. Their ears were adorned with pendants, that reached to their shoulders; and they had several necklaces of gold. Over their shoulders they had a jacket of cloth of gold, curiously wrought, under which was a waistcoat of the same fabric, mixed with red silk. They had a broad girdle spangled with gold; and under it a kind of trowsers depending to the knee, from which were suspended some small gold bells. Their arms and legs were naked; but from the wrist to the elbow, and from the ankle to the calf of the leg, they were loaded with bracelets set with jewels. Each had a sword, of the most superb manufacture, at her girdle;

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and in her hand a fan adorned with gems and small bells.

"These fascinating creatures having made their obeisances to the king, began to dance with one knee on the ground, making several motions with their body and arms: they then danced upright, displaying great agility and a variety of gestures, chiefly imitative of martial exploits. In grace and execution, they would not have disgraced the gestic art, even in the opinion of the best judges. After exhibiting themselves for about half an hour, they made their genuflections to the king, as they had done at their entry, and then retired.

"It was now growing late; and the king, at my request, suffered me to depart, having first made me a present of two hundred pieces of his coin, called masses, worth about a livre each. As the sabandar was conducting me home, he assured me, that he had never witnessed any person's being treated with such respect before; particularly in being permitted to see the king's women dance. For it should be observed, that during the whole entertainment; the courtiers shut their eyes; it being regarded as a capital crime, to look upon the king's women.

"On the 19th of February, an orankay and two sabandars, waited on me in the king's name, to demand two swords, one of which I had promised him. I immediately sent both my swords; but desired his majesty might be informed, as I had no more, and it was unusual in France to appear without a sword, that I hoped he would return me one of them; which he did, with a dagger, in lieu of the other.

"As no person dared to sell a grain of pepper, till the king had parted with his, I at last waited

on his majesty with some presents, in order to obtain permission to trade with his subjects, which I found could be done on advantageous terms. I found the king engaged in cock-fighting, and betting high with his orankays. On my entrance, he made me a present of a dagger, of no great value; but he was so intent on the sport, that I did not think it prudent to interrupt him by naming business.

“ On this occasion I saw an instance of his fordid and cruel disposition. One of the company pitching upon a middle-sized cock, pitted him against any antagonist whatever. An orankay, who had some of the king's game fowls in keeping, produced a very large bird, on which his majesty betted very high, but lost his money. The disappointment excited his resentment: he abused the orankay for negligence in feeding his cocks, and accused him of having appropriated the rice allowed for their support to his own use, or that of his dulcineas. The orankay answered with great humility; but the king would not lose his money and revenge both, he ordered the orankay's right hand to be struck off, which was immediately performed.

“ The next day the sabandar came to inform me, that the king, out of his peculiar affection for me, would let me have his pepper at forty-eight rials the bahar; though private persons would have been glad to sell theirs for thirty-two. On my begging to be permitted to take in my lading at Ticow, this representation of royalty had the assurance to propose my giving him four thousand rials, and twenty thousand to the king for a two year's licence to settle a factory at Ticow.

" Having received an invitation to speak with the king, when I arrived, I found him much out of humour, and giving orders for tormenting some of his women; and, to my extreme mortification, I was obliged to be a witness of the various inflictions which ingenious cruelty devised for the torture of these poor creatures, during a period of three hours. At length the rage of the monster being fatiated, though not satisfied, he ordered their hands and their legs to be cut off, and their bodies thrown into the river.

" It appeared that the preceding night, five or six of the women were in an adjoining apartment to the king's; where a hideous shriek was heard, for which his majesty wished to have a satisfactory explanation. All denying at first that there was any cause for the alarm, the lady who cried out, at last, was brought to confess; that somebody had pricked her in the thigh with a dagger, and that her exclaiming disturbed the rest. In this story, however, they did not perfectly agree; but the dagger was found, and no one would own it.

" The king, conscious of his cruelty, was suspicious of a plot against his life, carried on by his own mother, who he supposed had alarmed these women, that their outcry might tempt him to expose himself to the attacks of lurking assassins. He therefore determined to endeavour to extort a true confession by torture, but their constancy and fortitude were superior to all his malice. No persuasions, no threats, no torments could prevail on these miserable women to betray the suspected secret.

" The king ordered one of them, who being advanced in years, frequently fainted, to be dispatched,

patched. On this, she assumed a gaiety of countenance; thanked his majesty for his indulgence, and wished him a long and happy life of one thousand years. In a word, they all remained undaunted to the last gasp; and one of them had the courage to say, that for the space of ten years they had longed for the happy time that was to deliver them from tyranny.

"When the execution was ended, the king asked my opinion of it. To me the spectacle was shocking; but I was obliged to dissemble, and observed, that without the execution of justice, no kingdom could exist.

"The king then, with a seeming desire of justifying his conduct, declared that if this affair had passed without notice, his life would no longer have been secure. That his orankays were weak enough to charge him with cruelty, without considering that it was their wickedness, which drew down the anger of God upon them; while he was no more than the instrument of their punishment. That they were indebted to him for the possession of their wives, children, slaves and estates; that he maintained their religion, and defended them from the aggressions of neighbouring powers. He said his nobles hated him, because he suppressed extortion, massacres, and robberies; that they longed to make away with him, and to set up another who had countenanced their insolence.

"This declaration he made with such vehemence of gesture and indication of passion, that his courtiers threw themselves on the ground, imploring his forgiveness; and even the venerable cady, a man of more than eighty years of age, who had the singular felicity, to be universally
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beloved, and could boast of the noblest descent, followed their humiliating example.

“ But the business of cruelty did not end here. Though all his refinements in torture could extort no discovery, this savage prince, not only imprisoned his mother, but put her on the rack; five of his principal lords he put to death, and murdered his own nephew, and two of his cousins. In fine, this monster had not left one of the royal family, save one son; who after being thrice banished, begins now to become a greater favourite with him, from the innate propensity he shews to be more sanguinary even than his father. All the ancient nobility is extirpated; and while I was at Achen, not a day passed without some execution.

“ The avarice of this monarch was not less detestable than his cruelty. No representations or presents could get the better of it. Notwithstanding I had procured a licence to purchase pepper of his subjects, the first person who sold me any, was laid in irons. At last I found it impossible to procure a grain, unless I consented to take it of the king at his own price; and after I had agreed for three hundred bahars, at nearly double its value, to my astonishment, I found that he exacted seven per cent, by way of custom, for the very pepper I had purchased of himself.

“ I afterwards contracted with a person, who was distinguished for his knowledge of the laws of Mahomet, and even passed for a prophet himself; but finding some black sand among his pepper, I remonstrated, and received an apology. At last, I found that he weighed out the commodity wet; and, though a complaint to the king would have procured me ample revenge, I chose rather

rather to submit to the loss, than to enter into a dispute with this sanctified personage.

“Wearied out with the impositions of the tyrant, and disgusted with the chicanery of his subjects, I resolved to depart; and, on the 27th of June, received the letter to the King of France, which was brought to my house with great pomp, being carried on an elephant, conducted by one of the principal orankays, attended by many officers of rank. But all this parade was at my cost; for I was obliged to make presents and gratuities to the whole retinue. The letter was carried in a silver bason, in a red velvet bag, and was written in the Achenese language, in letters of gold, on very smooth paper, adorned with gilding and painting.

“We left Achen on the 24th of July; but on account of the calms, it was fourteen days before we reached Pulo Lanchay. The day after my arrival, the governor waited on me, and gave me to understand, that he would not suffer me to trade without a licence from the King of Queda, which he did not doubt I might obtain, on condition of lending him some artillery.

“A few days after, the governor having left his own son and one of the principal persons of the island as hostages, went in person to inform his master of my arrival, accompanied by two of my officers. The King of Queda had retired three days journey up the country, for fear of the Achenese army; however I soon received a letter from the Sieur d'Espine, one of my hostages, to inform me that there was little pepper remaining of the last crop, and that I was too early for this. However I received a second message, that the king had ordered, whatever pepper his kingdom contained,

contained, to be collected, in order to tempt me to sell him some of my cannon.

On this advice, I commissioned the Sieur d'Espine to inform himself of the actual quantity of pepper that might be expected. This gentleman returned on the 9th of September, and reported, that his majesty having a great mind to some of my artillery, would give me much more pepper than I had asked, if I would stay till the season for gathering it: or, if I was inclined to establish a factory, he would furnish it every year with two thousand bahars, and prohibit other nations from trading there. The king also empowered me by letter, to trade freely with the natives, offering me thirty bahars of pepper, all his stock, for two of my cannon. In the meanwhile my purser was detained at Perleys, from a supposition that I would come and establish a factory at that place; but finding the navigation rather dangerous, I determined to stay where I was, and intimated that, if my man was not sent back, I should certainly set sail with the hostages I had on board.

“ On the 1st of October, the purser returned, and I gave up the two hostages. He informed me that the king had only twenty bahars of pepper, and desired to pay for the other ten in rials; that the country was very poor, and rice extremely dear, and that the inhabitants were under the greatest apprehension of being invaded by the Achenese.

“ Though I had made up my mind not to part with my cannon, I thought fit to amuse the king with professions till I had taken in fresh water; and with that view, I sent back the purser to acquaint him, that I was much inclined to treat

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with him, but could not bring my ship to Perleys. However, I was ready to send one of my cannon on shore, on condition, that he gave me two hostages for the delivery of twenty bahars of pepper within a week. This offer was so pleasing, that he said there was no occasion for landing my cannon or giving hostages; for that the quantity stipulated should be ready within the specified time.

Could I have staid here till January, I might have loaded my ship with pepper at half the expence I could have done at Achen, but my company was so reduced and so dispirited, that I was obliged to abandon this flattering prospect.

The Island of Pulo Lanchay, or the Isle of Pepper, lies near 6 deg. of north latitude, and is from fifteen to twenty leagues in circumference. In the middle of the country rise two high mountains, separated by a defile; and at their bases, an extensive plain commences. This plain is most luxuriant in pepper; but as the whole island does not contain more than one hundred persons, it is far from being cultivated to the utmost. Exclusive of pepper, the soil is well adapted for fruit, rice, and drugs: it is enriched with pasturage and well watered. On the mountains are trees of an incredible height and beauty. The shore, on the south side, is indented by various bays and creeks; and indeed almost every part of the island affords safe anchorage, and plenty of water. The monsoons commence about the beginning of July, and end about the close of October; during which period the climate, as is usual in such latitudes, is very unhealthy. The pepper plants love a rich soil, and are planted at the roots of trees, round which they creep and twist

twist like hops. They produce no fruit till the third year, after which they yield, for the three succeeding years, about six or seven pounds weight each. The next three years, they gradually decrease in produce, and in five or six more are totally worn out.

“ While they are in a growing state, the ground round their roots must be kept very clean. When the plants begin to bear, the branches of the supporting tree must be lopped, lest they should intercept the rays of the sun. When the clusters of the fruit are formed, care must be taken to support them with poles; and when they rise too high, they must be pruned.

“ The pepper plant commonly shews a white flower in April, which pods in June. In August the fruit is large and green, when it is much used by the natives for sallad; or is made into a rich pickle with vinegar. In October, it assumes a red colour; and, gradually losing this tinge, it becomes quite black, and consequently ripe in December. In some places, however, the season of fructification and ripening varies.

“ When ripe, the clusters are cut off, and dried in the sun till the grains are ready to separate from the stalk. Some of the grains continue white, and these are appropriated to medicinal purposes, and bear double the value of the rest. The inhabitants, observing the partiality of the Europeans for white pepper, have discovered the mode of whitening the rest by decortication. Thus the cultivation of pepper employs a number of hands, though the labour is not hard.

“ On the 12th of October, I again stood for the Road of Achen, when the currents carried me

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on the Islands of Boston, at the distance of five leagues, where I was obliged to drop anchor to keep clear of the rocks, These islands produce some excellent timber for ship building, and afford convenient anchorage in almost every part, and some excellent water.

“ Next day, we came in sight of Sumatra, and on the 27th, were in view of Puloway, which I intended to double, in order to cast anchor on the west of Achen; but the currents were so strong and the winds so contrary, that I was obliged to put into a small creek, where a vessel came up to me with the king's commission, to enquire into the circumstances of the ship, her intended port and nation. It seems my cruising on the coast so long had spread some alarm, though it was involuntary on my part.

“ This messenger, knowing me at Achen, informed me, that a small French vessel had arrived there about eight days before. On asking me whence I now came, I informed him, that after leaving Achen, I was bound to Bantam, but losing two of my masts in a storm, I had put into a certain island to refit. I wished to conceal the name of the island, lest his majesty should be offended with me for not having his licence; but my interpreter blabbed the place I studiously endeavoured to hide.

“ Next day I was visited by a vessel, in which was a native of Achen, who had been on friendly terms with me. He informed me that the crew of the French vessel, in the road, said they belonged to me; and as a secret, he added, that they were detained by the king, contrary to their inclinations.

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“ Meanwhile, sending my long boat on shore to purchase provisions, I found that the people would sell none; alleging that the king had interdicted them from so doing without his special order.

“ Conceiving that the French ship in the road was our advice boat, and being apprehensive that the king would stop it, to prevent an interview with me, I weighed anchor and stood for Achen; but the wind proving still adverse and boisterous, I was driven into a bay at some distance, whence I sent a man, whom I had redeemed, in a Moor's habit, to carry a letter to the French vessel in the road, promising him his freedom, if he returned in two days. Being set on shore in the night, it was presumed he would reach the city, distant four leagues, before light.

“ The following day, a large ship under English colours, made up to us, and sent on board M. Du Parr, belonging to the Hope. The English ship was of six hundred tons, and thirty-two guns, and carried the captain of the Hope, who was very ill, and not finding me at Achen, was proceeding to Batavia, in hopes of procuring a passage home.

“ M. Du Parr gave me the subsequent relation of Captain Grave's proceedings. After the Hope parted from me, she came to an anchor about twenty leagues from Tidow, to which town the captain dispatched his long boat. Twelve hours after its departure, Captain Grave himself stood for the same port, to land the first commissary, who was ill; but the winds and currents being contrary, they not only lost the long boat, but all on board fell sick, the captain and five men excepted. In this deplorable situation, they fell in

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with a Dutch ship of one thousand two hundred tons, called the Leyden, commanded by William Schouten, on which M. Grave went to request their assistance. No sooner was he on board the Leyden, than her captain sent off sixty men in two long boats to board the Hope, which they did without opposition; and not satisfied with plundering the vessel at their pleasure, they barbarously treated the sick; turning them out of their hammocks, and throwing them on the open deck.

“ The Dutch captain informed M. Grave, that his ship was a lawful prize, and that they would serve me in the same manner, should I fall in their way. A few days after, they met with another Dutch ship, which was going to land her sick on the Isle of Nassau. Captain Grave earnestly desired that his men might accompany them, to which the Dutch consented; but evinced such cruelty as was disgraceful to human nature. The helpless sick they threw, from the ship into the boat, like logs of wood; some they dragged through the water with a rope; and one immediately expired, in consequence of their brutal treatment, on the rocks that lined the shore.

“ Meanwhile the commissary of the Leyden, reflecting on his unjustifiable conduct, told Captain Grave, that on a review of his commission, he found he was not authorized to capture any ship belonging to France; and that he was at liberty to return to his own vessel. M. Grave considering his melancholy situation and his want of assistance, observed with great mildness, that we were all liable to mistakes, and desired that the commissary would lend him some Dutch seamen

to navigate his ship. This proposal was acceded to, on condition that M. Grave should bury the past in oblivion, and give him a writing to that purpose under his hand.

" This done, the reinforcement was sent on board the Hope; but the Dutch seamen feeling their own strength and consequence, daily threatened to throw Captain Grave and his men overboard; and it is probable they would have carried their menace into execution, had they not been deterred by the company of the Dutch ship, Horn.

" Some time after, they fell in with three Dutch ships on the coast of Sumatra, one of which bearing an admiral's flag, Captain Grave went on board her, which he had no sooner done than the Dutch began to fire on the Hope, to make them strike their colours, which was complied with.

" They next proceeded in company to Jacatra, and arrived there in December, when Captain Grave waited on the Dutch admiral, to solicit the favour of some men, to assist him in conducting his ship to Bantam. The Dutchmen, as a condition required that he should, on his arrival there, buy up all the pepper at two rials a sack, and distribute two-thirds of it to the Dutch and English ships in that road. The captain knew he had no alternative; and therefore was obliged to sign an obligation to buy fifteen thousand sacks of pepper, to be distributed in the above proportions.

" At this juncture, the pinnace I had sent in quest of him, arrived at Jacatra; but the bargain being first struck, M. Grave was forced to proceed to Bantam, and reached that place about the end

of January. The king gave him a very favourable reception ; but he soon found he was overreached by the Dutch, as no pepper was to be procured under four rials a sack.

“ In the meantime the Dutch, contrary to their stipulations, sent armed barks up and down Bantam road in pursuit of the *Javene*, and always retired on board the *Hope*, with the insidious intention of making the people of Bantam believe that the French gave shelter to their mortal enemies. But the king resented this conduct no farther than by keeping up the pepper at the original offer, on which Captain Grave resolved to close with him ; and having taken in his lading, to return to France, according to his agreement, he offered part of what he had purchased to the Dutch, who rejected it at the price. The English, however, accepted one hundred and fifty bags, but never paid him ; and this reduced him to great distress, for want of money to fulfil his engagements with the king.

“ At length the commissary of the *St. Malo's Company* at Bantam advanced one thousand five hundred rials, to enable him to complete his lading, and took the *Hermitage* advice boat, which I had sent as a pledge for repayment. M. Grave now resolved to sail for France ; but was ordered, by three ships that lay by him, to return to *Jacatra*. In compliance with this requisition, he sailed thither ; where he was commanded to unlade two-thirds of his cargo. He exhibited letters under the Dutch president's hand, importing that they declined the bargain ; notwithstanding which, they arrested him on shore, surrounded the *Hope* with their

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vessels, and began to unlade the pepper themselves.

“On this Captain Grave entered a protest against their proceedings, and declared that all the damage done him, should be placed to the account of the Dutch. Soon after a proa, taking advantage of a very dark night, was perceived to advance from the Dutch station, and to make up to the stern of the Hope, near which it continued for some time, and then putting off, one of the men cried out, in the Malayan tongue, that the Hope was on fire. Immediately the Dutch ships were seen under sail, a proof that they were privy to the design. The French finding the fire had gained too much ground to be extinguished, retired to their long boat. Next morning the captain sent off some proas to endeavour to save something on board; but the Dutch kept them at a distance, extinguished the flames themselves, took out all the pepper and artillery, and sold the hulk by beat of drum.

“After this catastrophe, which put a final period to his hopes, Captain Grave, hearing that I was at Achen, set out for that city in a pinnace he procured from the commissary of the French at Bantam, while his men followed in a bark. As soon as he arrived there, the bark and men were stopped by the King of Achen; and Captain Grave, being disappointed in meeting me, and falling ill, took the opportunity of embarking for Batavia in the English ship, as previously mentioned.

“This melancholy recital affected me much. I immediately dispatched a boat for Captain Grave, received him on board, and, making for the

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the Road of Achen, was resolved to liberate my men by force, if persuasion had no effect.

“ As soon as we arrived, the king sent an eunuch on board to welcome me, and desire I would land. To this I replied, that I could not trust myself on shore after his majesty had imprisoned my men like robbers; and seized on the wretched remains of a burnt ship, contrary to his professions of regard both for the King of France and myself. The eunuch apologized, that his master took them for Portuguese who had ravaged his coasts; but as soon as he was undeceived, he had set the men at liberty, and returned them their money. I observed that the French were easily distinguished from the Portuguese; and that I understood the king still detained property of ours to the amount of two thousand five hundred rials. The eunuch said, the king his master would certainly return the whole; but I still persisted that I would not land, till all my men were on board; after which I would wait on his majesty.

“ A demand was now made of several duties to a considerable amount; but as I did not come to traffic, I gave for answer, that I would not pay a farthing. Some time after the chappe returned with all my men; when, in conformity to my promise, I waited on the king. With deep dissimulation, he complained of my not waiting on him sooner; and told me that the Dutch and English had represented us as robbers and pirates; but that he no sooner understood the men belonged to me, than he set them at liberty. He added, that he was apprehensive the King of France would have taken it ill, had he delivered up his subjects into the hands of their mortal enemies, the Dutch; and that he only waited for

the arrival of a French ship, in order to send them home. After these specious professions, on my thanking him for sending the men on board my ship, he coolly observed that they were only come as visitors; for, being shipwrecked, they belonged to him, into whose port they came. This he probably used as a plea, to prevent my demanding what property he had detained.

“ Once more I made an effort to obtain a licence for trading at Ticow; and to forward this, offered a diamond to the orankay to engage him in my favour. He told me I must present a valuable one to the king, who was fond of jewels, and that he would then listen to the proposal. I shewed him a diamond I intended for his majesty of twelve grains, and one for himself of five. Next day he returned, and informed me that the English having lately presented his majesty with some large diamonds, he did not set much value on mine; but that if I could procure one of extraordinary beauty, I might be sure of carrying my point. On this I purchased two diamonds of a Portuguese, who had lately returned from Masulipatam, one of which cost me five hundred and fifty rials, the other one hundred and twenty. I now sent my interpreter to inform the king, that I had some jewels which I wished to shew him. He admired the larger one, and asked its price. I told him it was at his service, if he would allow me take in three hundred bahars of pepper at Ticow. He then magnified the great offers he had received from the Dutch for that privilege; but that if I would give him another diamond, of the same quality, I might stay twenty days at Ticow. This I informed him was not in my power to do. He then desired a piece of

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cannon in the room of it ; and though I was very averſe to granting this demand, finding it impoſſible to accompliſh my end without this ſacrifice to his majeſty's wiſh, I at laſt acceded to the terms.

“ The king then ordered an orankay to make out my licence ; but I ſoon diſcovered that new arts were played off, and new impoſitions practiſed, to extort more diamonds. After various delays, and ſome farther gratuities, I received a commiſſion from the king's own hand, empowering me to traffic for twenty days at Ticow.

“ We arrived at Ticow on the laſt day of the year ; and on the 1ſt of January 1622, I landed ; and having ſhewn my authority, found no difficulty in procuring four hundred bahars of pepper, which, including all expences direct and incidental, coſt me no more than twenty-five rials the bahar.

“ The Iſland of Sumatra extends from the point of Achen to the Straights of Sunda, about fix hundred and twenty miles in length, and is generally two hundred and ten miles in breadth.

“ The coaſts are chiefly low, but there are many high mountains inland. The vallies are fertile in rice, fruits, and paſture. Rivers of great breadth and depth, ſtreams and ſprings interſect and adorn moſt parts of the iſland. As the equinoctial paſſes through Sumatra, it muſt naturally be ſuppoſed to be hot ; and during the rainy ſeaſon, it is inſalubrious alſo, particularly to ſtrangers, who are frequently carried off by peſtilential fevers in two or three days ; and if they eſcape with life, the diſeaſe not unuſually terminates in obſtinate ſwellings and dropſical affections.

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" The inhabitants chiefly subsist on rice and cocoas. Perpetual verdure adorns this isle, and there is not a month within the circle of the year that does not produce ripe fruit. Buffaloes are numerous, and employed in agriculture and draught. The breed of horses is small; and the sheep are little esteemed. Exclusive of domestic animals, there are wild elephants, tigers, monkeys, and many other species of beasts. Poultry and birds are abundant.

" The best part of Sumatra is subject to the King of Achen: that part of the coast, which faces Sunda, belongs to the King of Bantam. The inhabitants of the maritime districts are Malaysians; but, in the interior parts, a race of aborigines is found, speaking a different language, and forming several small societies under their own princes. One of these is lord of the gold mines, and consequently is able to assume some state and opulence.

" Some districts in Sumatra are extremely productive in pepper, and different European nations have established factories there, chiefly with a view to the collection of that valued commodity.

" The dominions of the King of Achen, though extensive, are badly cultivated, and their produce is scarcely equal to the necessary support of the inhabitants. Formerly pepper was much more plentiful than now. At the distance of a few leagues from Achen, is a sulphur mountain, which supplies one of the principal materials in the manufacture of gunpowder for the east. Near Dely is a fountain of oil, said to be extinguishable when once lighted. With this oil the King of Achen burnt two Portuguese galle-

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ons near Malacca. It is uninteresting to particularize all the circumstances, in which one district or province in Sumatra differs from another: it may in general be remarked, that the more remote a place lies from the tyrannical court of Achen, the greater its opulence, population, and fertility.

“ The inhabitants of Achen are the most vicious of any on the coast. They are proud, envious, and perfidious; contemptuous of their neighbours, and of other nations. In dress they are expensive; but the tyranny of the king keeps them from indulging in fine houses and rich equipages. They seem to have a smattering of literature, and a taste for poetry. They are good mechanics, and work in iron and wood with the same facility as Europeans.

“ Since the present king's accession to the throne, the Achenese have obtained the reputation of being the best soldiers and engineers in India. Their exploits at Queda and Dely shew the progress they have made in military tactics.

“ Sobriety is so universal among them, that it does not even gain the reputation of a virtue. Rice, fish, and herbs, are their principal subsistence. Flesh and fowl are used with great parsimony, even among the grandees. It is a common observation among them, that had they two thousand Christians in their country, there would soon be a scarcity of beef and poultry.

“ With an outward show of being strict Mahometans, they are consummate hypocrites. If they only suspect that any one bears them ill-will, they endeavour to ruin him by false accusations. In a word, it is too common for the nearest relations to accuse one another to the king; and if they are charged with inhumanity and

and want of fellow feeling, they reply that God is far removed, but the King of Achen is near at hand. Marriages and concubinage are regulated according to the Mahometan code. Their wives are confined; but slaves and concubines are permitted to go abroad, which renders their situation more agreeable than that of the former. Husband and wife may at any time separate by mutual consent.

" Though usuary is prohibited at Achen, they are allowed to borrow money without pledges at twelve per cent. If the debtor refuses to pay, he is cited before a court of justice; and, if he will not comply, after a second appearance, he is condemned to have his hands tied behind his back, and to remain in that situation till he has made satisfaction. But if it should be proved that he is absolutely incapable of payment, he is delivered up to the creditor as a slave; and no other cognizance is taken of the treatment he receives, unless his life is taken away.

" This court sits every morning, except on Friday, and one of the principal orankays acts as president. There is also a criminal court, in which several of the chief orankays preside by turns, where cognizance is taken of all capital offences committed in the city. Any criminal may be stopped or taken up by a child; for when once hands are laid on him, he dares not offer opposition; but suffers himself to be carried before a court of justice, where sentence is immediately put in execution.

" In this manner I have seen strong men, brought in by little children, and sentenced to be lashed, for stealing to the value of a farthing; and, after execution, neither culprit nor informer dare to complain. I once heard a man tried for

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peeping through a hedge to see his neighbour's wife bathing, for which he was condemned to receive thirty lashes on his shoulders; but, by a public convention with the executioner, it was agreed, that the punishment should be inflicted with his clothes on. Indeed it is very usual to bargain with the executioner for a mitigation of punishment; for seldom a day passes without the king's ordering some person to lose a member; and the ministers of his vengeance are always well paid for doing their business handsomely. There is one very wise regulation here; that, after a criminal has suffered the punishment of his offence, all the ignominy is supposed to be wiped off; and if any person reflects on him, he may dispatch him with impunity.

"There is a third court, in which the *cadi*, or chief priest, presides, instituted to take cognizance of all infringements of religion. There is also a court for determining mercantile disputes, whether between natives or strangers. In this court, an exact account is kept of all the customs, fines, gifts, and commodities belonging to the king, with a list of those who have any connection with his majesty in the way of trade or negotiation.

"Besides these courts, there are several officers of police who take cognizance of crimes and misdemeanours committed by night. And every *orankay* has a country district or province, in which he commands and administers justice."

It may be entertaining to take a brief review of his history of Achen. "Before the reign of the present king's grandfather, the *orankays* were rich and respectable, and the citizens numerous and happy. The city itself was sixtimes as large as now, and enjoyed a most flourishing trade; the

the duties being low, and commodities easily procured.

“ Such was the situation of affairs at Achen, about forty years ago, when the ancient royal line becoming extinct, the orankays, whose united authority and grandeur often eclipsed that of their sovereign, met to chuse a king; but as there were very many competitors for this fascinating honour, there seemed no alternative, but to decide the dispute by the sword.

“ While in this ferment, the cadì, by his authority and prudence, prevailed on the candidates for royalty, to listen to an expedient that would remove all their jealousies; which was, to set the crown on the head of a certain aged and noble orankay, who had secluded himself from their debates, and lived in the peaceable enjoyments of wisdom and virtue.

“ This proposal the contending orankays fell in with, on account of the great age of the nominated sovereign, which did not preclude, but only protract, their respective pretensions. The old nobleman, however, declined the dazzling offer; alleging that he had for sometime withdrawn himself from the bustle of business and the cares of life; and that he had no other ambition than to spend the remainder of his days in repose.

“ On this refusal, confusion once more began to prevail among the orankays; but finding that neither would acquiesce in the elevation of the other, they endeavoured to threaten the old orankay into an acceptance of the crown; but both threats and persuasions were equally vain.

“ At last they were determined to give him but one option. They resorted to his house in a body, when the cadì carrying the crown, and one

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of the orankays a naked sword, they represented that death or royalty was his only alternative. The old orankay finding himself reduced to this dilemma, told them, that though it had been his fixed resolution, and most earnest wish, to avoid interfering in public affairs; yet, since nothing but his mounting the throne would prevent a civil war, he accepted their offer, on condition that they should respect him as a father, and he should treat them as children. They made their acknowledgments for his goodness; and having promised not only to honour him as their parent, but to respect him as their sovereign, instantly invested him with the royal dignity.

“After his coronation, he took possession of the castle; and inviting all the orankays to a feast, on an appointed day, made such immense preparations for their entertainment, as filled them with admiration.

“When the festival arrived, the orankays were drawn up in order, in a court adjoining the king's apartment, and conducted by the chappes into the hall; but were immediately dragged into a retired court, where the king ordered their throats to be cut, and their bodies to be thrown into a ditch. Meanwhile the music played, and nothing but mirth and songs resounded in the hall. These murders were carried on with such dexterity, that eleven hundred were cut off, before the rear suspected danger. At last the small surviving remainder slipped out of the castle, without distinctly knowing the cause of their distrust.

“Next day all the principal orankays were missing; and the bloody secret was disclosed. The inhuman monster, having sacrificed all the objects of his suspicion, secured himself in the

castle with guards; and published a declaration, that this great execution was necessary for the preservation of his person and the state: that, in former times, the orankays had made and unmade kings; but that he did not chuse to be exposed to their inconstant humours, nor to give them an opportunity of relapsing into their former animosities, by his own destruction, which would involve the ruin of the people. In fine, that his aim was to preserve the public peace, to reign with equity, and only to be severe against offenders.

“ This declaration, however, did not allay the people's fears; and finding himself insulated and neglected in his palace, he ordered the houses of the murdered orankays to be demolished, and all their effects to be confiscated; and made some severe laws against building houses with stone, or using any external pomp, that might take off from the royal consequence. He conferred the quality of orankays on the most abandoned slaves of his will; and, in the course of the first year of his reign, executed more than twenty thousand persons, chiefly on the suspicion of their disapproving his conduct.

“ This prince was extremely civil to the English and Dutch, but unfriendly to the Arabian merchants. He educated the present king, who was his daughter's son, and died at the very advanced age of ninety-five years, leaving two sons, to the eldest of whom he left the kingdom of Achen, and to the youngest the kingdom of Pedir.

These princes being of a mild disposition, the reins of government were relaxed, and many disorders committed. The King of Achen giving some slight rebuke to his nephew, the present king

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king, he fled to the protection of his uncle, the King of Pedir, by whom he was kindly received.

“ Being redemanded by the King of Achen, a quarrel ensued between the brothers, and a ruinous war was carried on between them, in which many thousands were slain. The forces of Pedir were commanded by the fugitive prince; but at last, being overpowered by numbers, his uncle was obliged to deliver him up, when the King of Achen put him in irons.

“ At this juncture, the Portuguese made a descent on Achen, when the young prince requesting his uncle, the King of Achen, would grant him permission to oppose the enemies of his country, obtained a liberation, and gaining three battles against the Portuguese, acquired great reputation,

“ This stimulated his mother, an enterprising and ambitious woman, to form plans of raising him to the throne. With this view, she brought over the orankays to her interest, by bribes; and recommended to her son to seek popularity by every possible means. For this his manners were well adapted; and while he was making great progress in the affections of the people, his uncle suddenly died.

“ On this the prince insinuated himself into the castle, bribed the guards, distributed money among the principal orankays, and threatened the cadi who hesitated to crown him. In short, he managed with such address, that he was proclaimed king the same night, to the great joy of the people, who had formed the most favourable opinion of his liberality, beneficence, and valour.

“ As Pedir is but a short distance from Achen, the king of the former, hearing of his brother's

ther's demise, next day came to receive the investiture of his patrimony; but on approaching the castle, with a small retinue, he fell into his nephew's hands, who kept him prisoner for a month, and then, on pretence of sending him to a more agreeable retreat, had him murdered by the way.

"Dipped in blood, he now fell on the very persons to whom he owed his elevation; dispatching those who had received most of his bounty, in the first instance, and ending with those who had received least. The mask he had hitherto worn soon dropped off; and his mind and conduct appeared in all the nakedness of deformity. Cruel and avaricious, he sets no bounds to the gratification of his wishes or his passions. After having nearly depopulated his original territories, he made war upon his neighbours, and endeavoured to repair the losses of his people, by transplanting many thousands of the vanquished into Achen; but such was his barbarity and folly, that after he had obtained such an accession to the strength of his country, he suffered these miserable creatures to perish with hunger.

"The king maintains and keeps three thousand women, who are a kind of guard, and seldom leave the castle. They are ranged under several captains, and have their separate judges and officers from the city; but none are allowed to enter their apartments, except the royal eunuchs, who are about five hundred. Notwithstanding the number of his wives and concubines, the king has only one son, about eighteen years of age. Some time ago he received the kingdom of Pedir, but behaved with such licentiousness

centiousness, that his father recalled him, and punished his excesses most severely. Since this, he has been confined in the castle, except when he goes to the mosque; on which occasion he is indulged with a splendid retinue.

“ The King of Achen places his greatest strength in his elephants, which amount to nearly a thousand. These animals are trained to every purpose of war or pleasure, and there never was a prince in Achen who had so much dexterity in managing them, or seemed fonder of using them.

“ His majesty is also more powerful by sea than any of his neighbours. He keeps one hundred large gallies, some of which are superior in size to those of Europe. I saw the keel of one, formed out of a single piece of timber, which measured one hundred and twenty feet. These vessels are handsomely built, but are inartificially rigged. They commonly carry three large pieces of cannon, and from five to eight hundred men. These gallies are divided among the principal orankays, who are obliged to be at the charge of equipping them for sea, and repairing them, when they stand in need.

“ Indeed, his majesty's defensive and offensive establishments, in general, are not very expensive to him; for, at the word of command, all his subjects march, and carry their own provisions with them for the space of three months. The king supplies them with arms, which they are obliged to restore on their return. Their nearest relations are responsible for their conduct; and if they betray cowardice or disaffection, not only themselves, but their dearest ties, suffer for it. By this severe and unjust decree, he has rendered

his subjects resolute soldiers, and the terror of their neighbours. If they keep the field above three months, they have an allowance of rice for their support.

“ But it is not only into war that the king carries his principles of œconomy. For the maintenance of his household, he receives every species of produce from his subjects; and when there is any surplus, it is sold in the markets for his advantage. In a word, his necessary expences, even his extravagancies, are defrayed by his subjects in kind; and no means of exaction are left untried, to extort money, or value, from a depressed people.

“ The King of Achen appoints himself heir to all who die without male issue; and if they leave any daughters unmarried, they are immured in the castle. He also appropriates to himself the estates of those, who are daily condemned to death; and to prevent any alienation of them, in favour of wives or children, before the doom is pronounced, every moveable is secured. He is also heir to foreigners who die in his dominions; but the Dutch and English, being privileged with factories, are exempted from this law; and while we staid here, we enjoyed the same immunity.

“ Having provided ourselves with necessaries, we prepared to take our final departure from Achen; and on the 1st of February, having now seventy-five men on board, in good health, and nine months stores, we weighed anchor with the pleasing hope of returning to our native land.

“ It was the 22d of June before we reached St. Helena, when many of the crew, having fallen sick, were sent on shore to recover. This island

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is peculiarly suitable for refreshment, on account of the temperature of the air; the facility of obtaining water; the plenty of kids and hogs; the conveniency of fishing; and the profusion of fruits and herbs of antiscorbutic virtues.

“ On the 16th of July, we came in sight of Ascension, a high rocky island, without wood, water, or herbage; which, however, affords some hogs, many-fowls, turtles, and abundance of fish. Having crossed the equinoctial without any material occurrence, we experienced such calms and drizzling rains, that most of the men were seized with dropxies and fatal tumours.

“ On the 6th of August, such a violent tornado arose, as in two minutes split our canvass, and carried the main topsail quite off. Next day we saw several swallows and butterflies, a certain proof of our approaching land. On the 13th we had a prospect of the Cape Verd Islands, and three days after, made St. Vincent, where we anchored, and sent our numerous sick on shore, where they speedily recovered,

“ At this island we found plenty of large turtle, and an herb resembling spinage, which we used both in salad and soups, with such good effects, that in eight days, most of our crew, who were affected with dropxies, recovered. St. Vincent, likewise, supplies kids, but they are not easily caught without dogs. To the eastward, at the bottom of a high mountain, we found vast quantities of purslain, but no fruits, except wild figs.

The only wood produced here, is the wild pine. The water is generally brackish; but on the south-west part of the bay, where we anchored, is a small spring, tolerably sweet. There is good
fishing

fishing along the rocks ; and, in one spot, we caught enough in a few hours to furnish a meal for more than double the number of our men.

“ In short, except in the inferior quality of its water, we found this island nearly equal to St. Helena for refreshments ; and, throughout its whole extent, it is pleasant and easily accessible. Though we traversed most parts of St. Vincent, we saw neither men nor domestic animals.

“ We left this island on the 15th of September ; after which we encountered several dreadful storms. On the 12th of next month, we discovered the Azores, but it was some days before we could weather them. On the 19th we met with another storm, which did considerable damage to our masts and rigging.

“ The third of November we descried the Lizard Point in England, and on the 1st of December arrived safe at Havre de Grace, after a voyage of thirty-eight months.”

This being a commercial voyage, it is to be estimated on that scale alone. The unfortunate loss of the Hope, and the advice boat, were considerable drawbacks ; yet it appears, that on the whole, the adventure was a saving one. And surely no reader, who is pleased with natural delineation of incidents and characters, can fail to admire the narrative of M. Beaulieu ; or, from his representation, to deny him the reputation of being a prudent and active commander. We are sorry that it is not in our power to supply farther traces of this amiable man : what we know, excites our interest, but those most entitled to our love, perhaps only present themselves on the stage of life, and then are lost for ever.

VOYAGE

VOYAGE OF
CAPTAIN MONK,
FOR THE
DISCOVERY OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE
TO
CHINA AND JAPAN.

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF FORMER VOYAGES, UNDERTAKEN WITH THE SAME DESIGN.

IT requires no deep knowledge of geography, to perceive, that the dangers and difficulties attendant on northern discoveries, will account for our acquaintance with the polar regions being very imperfect. A brief recapitulation of the sufferings of those who have contributed to increase the slender stock of our information, relative to these countries, will, we trust, be thought a proper introduction to the voyage of Captain Monk.

The first person who conceived the idea of exploring the northern climes, was Sebastian Cabot, our countryman. That enterprising navigator, long before Magellan thought of a passage to the Pacific Ocean by the south-west, had made two voyages, with a view of entering the
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same sea by the north-west. In these voyages he discovered New Foundland, the coast of Esquimaux Indians, and had penetrated as far as 64 deg. north latitude; when a mutiny among his crew, or rather an obstinate refusal to proceed any farther, obliged him to return; yet he died in the persuasion that a passage, in that direction, certainly existed; and that he should have found it, had not the opposition of his men frustrated his designs.

The next who, prepossessed with the same notion, undertook a voyage for discoveries towards the north, was Sir Martin Forbisher. He discovered Greenland, and in the latitude of 62 deg. north, passed a straight, which, though it still retains a place in our maps, has never been found navigable since. He made two subsequent voyages, discovered many bays and straights, to which he assigned names; but returned without attaining the principal object of his voyage; though, like his predecessor, he asserted its unquestionable existence to his latest hour.

To him succeeded Sir Humphry Gilbert, who, in 1583, traversed the coast of Labradore, entered the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence, and, circumnavigating New Foundland, laid the foundation of the Codfishing, which has ever since been prosecuted with immense advantage to his country.

The rapid progress of discoveries in the southern hemisphere, which, about this time, were productive of vast profit to the adventurers, re-animated contemporary navigators to prosecute, with increased ardour and activity, their enterprises towards the north. The more the Pacific Ocean became known, the firmer the belief was established

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established, that a communication with it by way of the north must certainly exist; and that whoever could discover it, would not only eternize his name, but enrich his country.

Commercial men, of that period, were not less eager to embark their money, than the navigators were to hazard their persons in any new project, where the hope of gain was not quite problematical. Hence a number of opulent persons, in London, agreed to join a company of merchants in the west, and to fit out two ships for the discovery of a passage, which all agreed was practicable, though no one could tell where it was actually to be found.

To the command of this expedition, Captain John Davis was strongly recommended as an able navigator, and as a man of a bold and enterprising spirit. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, 1585, he set sail from Dartmouth, in the *Sunshine* of fifty tons, accompanied by the *Moonshine* of thirty-five tons, having on board both vessels, forty-two able and experienced mariners.

On the 19th of July, they were alarmed by a mighty roaring, which was the more tremendous, as the fog was too thick to see each other, at a ship's length. This proved to be the crackling of the islands of ice, a phenomenon not then well understood. On the clearing up of the fog, they discovered land, which, from its dismal appearance, they named the Land of Desolation. On the 24th they found themselves in 64 deg. 15 min. north latitude, the sea open, and the weather moderate.

In this latitude they discovered land, and had some intercourse with the natives, who appeared to be a harmless, hospitable people: civil in
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their manners, neatly dressed, and not ill-favoured. These friendly people, observing that the English admired their furs, went up the country to bring down more, and traded in these commodities with great simplicity.

To an adjoining hill, Davis gave the name of Mount Raleigh, from which he took his departure on the 8th of August, and on the 11th doubled the southernmost cape in view, to which he gave the appellation of the Cape of God's Mercy; and entered a straight which still bears the name of the discoverer. In this straight he sailed sixty leagues; and on the 14th went on shore, and found evident traces of human inhabitants, being met by a pack of twenty dogs, that expressed their joy, as if their masters had returned, after an interval of absence. One of these had on a leather collar. The captain was highly pleased with the promising appearance of the new straights, and consulting with the master, agreed to report on their return, that they had found the wished-for communication with the western sea.

The weather changing from temperate to excessive cold, it was resolved, on the 20th, to sail for England. On the 12th of September, they again fell in with the Land of Desolation; and on the 30th of the same month, entered the Port of Dartmouth, without the loss of a single man.

The intelligence Captain Davis communicated to his owners, was so satisfactory, that other merchants were desirous of joining in a second expedition; and accordingly he was again engaged, and furnished with a much greater force.

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On the 7th of May he sailed from Dartmouth, in the *Mermaid* of one hundred and twenty tons, in company with his two former ships; and an additional pinnacle of thirteen tons, named the *North Star*.

In latitude 60 deg. north, Captain Davis divided his force, ordering the *Sunshine* and *North Star* to attempt a passage between Greenland and Iceland, while the *Mermaid* and *Moonshine* continued their course to the strait before discovered. They again fell in with the land they had visited in the preceding voyage, and traded with the natives on advantageous terms. Overjoyed to meet, they renewed their acquaintance; and while the English were preparing a pinnacle for the prosecution of their discoveries, the natives came in numbers to carry on a trade. As soon as the pinnacle was ready, Captain Davis dispatched her to examine the inlets on the coast, and to trace their course up to the main land; but that was productive of no essential discovery.

Though the natives attended them with an obsequious diligence, yet, on their kindling a fire after their manner, and using some strange ceremonies, Davis, infected with the superstition of his age, supposed that they were practising forceries, and first thrusting the priest into the smoke, encouraged his men to extinguish the flames, and to kick the reeking coals into the sea.

Unable to bear this insult, the natives for the first time, evinced a spirit of resentment. They seized the boat from the stern of the *Moonshine*, cut the cable of the *Mermaid*, made prize of the implements on shore; and, in short, commenced

open hostilities against the aggressors; who, in return, discharged their artillery amongst them, which instantly caused them to disperse.

After the indignity offered to their priest, no civilities could ever reconcile the natives; and, the following year, they executed a severe revenge. Meanwhile, one of them being taken prisoner, was conveyed on board the Mermaid. After recovering from his fright, he trimmed up his darts, repaired his fishing tackle, picked oakum, and set his hand to any thing he was wished; so that in a short time he became a very pleasant and useful companion.

On the 17th of July, in latitude 63 deg. 8 min. north, they fell in with a continent of ice, very high, resembling land, with bays and capes; and till they had closely examined it, could not be convinced that it was a mere congelation. They coasted it till the 30th, when the weather became so tempestuous and foggy, and so intensely cold, that the shrouds, ropes, and sails, were frozen, and glazed with ice; and the men, who the year before found the sea open, and the weather temperate, were so dispirited, that they addressed their commander in a respectful manner, and requested him to reflect on his present situation, to regard his own life, and the preservation of theirs; and not through useless intrepidity, and an indiscreet zeal for a hopeless discovery, leave their widows and fatherless children to blacken his memory with the bitterness of their curses.

Moved by their pitiable representation, he dismissed the Mermaid with such as were most solicitous to return home; and proceeded in the Moonshine, in prosecution of his voyage. Chang-
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ing his course, to recover the opposite shore, on the 1st of August, in latitude 66 deg. 33 min. north, longitude 70 deg. west, he discovered land, without either ice or snow. Next day they cast anchor in a fine road; and were soon visited by the natives, who came to traffic. On the 14th they set sail to the westward, and in two days changed their course to the southward. On the 18th they discovered a high promontory to the north-west, which, having no land to the south, revived their hopes of a free passage.

On doubling the cape, they found the land trending away to the south in broken islands; and coasting along till they arrived at a fine opening in 57 deg. north, they sailed ten leagues, with woods and lawns on each side, abounding with deer and game of various kinds. Here they remained till the 1st of September, and then set sail; coasting along to the northward, where they were again flattered with the hopes of a passage, by observing a strong current rushing in between two headlands to the westward, which they were desirous of approaching, but the wind was perfectly adverse.

Recovering their former station on the 6th, five of the crew fell into an ambuscade; for having ventured on shore, unarmed, they were suddenly assaulted from the woods, two of them killed on the spot, two grievously wounded, and a fifth made his escape by swimming, with an arrow sticking in his arm.

Same evening a furious storm arose, which lasted till the 10th, in which time they had nearly unrigged the ship, and were about to cut away her masts by the board. The cable of their sheet anchor parted, and they expected every

moment to be dashed upon the rocks, and to be made a prey by the savage cannibals of the country; but the storm abating, they recovered their anchor, and set sail for England on the 11th.

About the beginning of October, they arrived at Dartmouth, where they found the *Sunshine*; but the *North Star*, having parted company in a hard gale, on the coast of Greenland, was never heard of more.

This undaunted mariner had yet the courage to undertake a third voyage, and then sailed as far as 73 deg. north; but being deserted by his company, was forced to return in great distress to his old port. On his arrival, he wrote a letter to his patron, assuring him, that he had found an open sea in 73 deg. and a straight forty leagues broad; and concluded from thence that the passage was most certain.

From this period till the year 1610, we find no farther attempts to revive this discovery. In that year, Henry Hudson, one of the most celebrated navigators of his time, was prevailed on to undertake a voyage, purposely projected to make trial of his skill. He sailed on the 7th of April, 1610, and steered directly to Davis' Strait. He then changed his course to the westward, and struck out a tract never attempted before, which led him through the straight, still bearing his name, into the great bay that bounds the American continent on the north-east; and seems to communicate, by various openings, into the north sea. Here he continued traversing nearly three months, in search of a passage to the westward; but finding himself embayed, he stood to the south, intending to winter in the mildest latitude the bay afforded.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, he is said to have taken his station in lat. 52 deg. north, long. 80 deg. west, where, on the 1st of November, his ship was immured in ice, and being scantily provided with supplies, his crew mutinied: and in the end, most barbarously contrived, as the historian of the voyage expresses it, to turn the captain, the carpenters, and all the sick men, out of the ship, who were heard of no more.

After this deed of shame, the conductors of the revolt, determined to make the best of their way for England; and in their passage home, suffered misery indescribable, and not a few perished.

Notwithstanding this disaster, and its being known with certainty, that the captain, and all who were left behind, were either drowned, starved, or murdered; the progress this unfortunate adventurer had made, encouraged others to follow his track.

The next enterpriser was Captain Button, a man of abilities, courage, and experience. Patronised by Henry Prince of Wales, he sailed in 1611, and having passed Hudson's Straights, pursued a different course from that of Captain Hudson, leaving his discoveries to the south, and shaping his track to the north-west.

Having proceeded more than two hundred leagues in this direction, he fell in with a large continent, which, from its mountainous appearance, he named New Wales; but finding no passage to the westward, he followed the direction of the land to the southward, till he arrived at Port Nelson, where he wintered, in 63 deg. 30 min. north latitude. But though he used every precaution to fence against the severity of the

climate, by keeping three fires constantly burning in his ship, many of his men perished from excessive cold. Here they killed incredible numbers of white partridges and other wild fowl.

In 1615, Captain William Baffin undertook the examination of the extremity of that sea, into which Davis' Strait opened a passage; and he so far succeeded, as to determine its extent, and to discover an outlet, marked in our maps by the name of Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, which has the most probable appearance of a communication with the Great Pacific Ocean.

We now come to the voyage of Captain Monk, which we detail at a little more length, on account of its approved authenticity, and his wintering in these dreary regions. Whatever merit may belong to the navigators of our own country, and it is great and indisputable in this direction, we have seen, that too sanguine hopes have led them sometimes to affirm, as realities, what they ought only to have suggested as probabilities; and that few had been able to endure the brumal colds.

Monk was one of the most expert navigators of his age, and a man of such integrity, that not a single misrepresentation has been discovered by succeeding adventurers, in the account he has given of his voyage. These personal qualifications recommended him to Christian IV. King of Denmark; and under the auspices of that monarch, two ships were fitted out, and intrusted to his command, with instructions to attempt the discovery of a north-west passage to China and Japan.

Having made the requisite arrangements, Captain Monk left the sound, on the 16th of May,

1619,

1619, and on the 26th of June, made Cape Farewell, a rocky land, covered with ice and snow, and lying in 62 deg. 30 min. north latitude. Here he remarked that the wind blew one day so cold that the tackle of his ship was frozen and full of icicles, and consequently unmanageable; yet the next, the weather was so sultry and hot, that the men were obliged to work in their shirts.

On the 17th, Captain Monk arrived in Hudson's Straights, and landed on an island directly opposite to Greenland; where some of his people, exploring the country, could discover the vestiges of men.

Next day some of the natives made their appearance, and expressed great surprize at the sight of the Danes; but advanced towards them in an amicable manner, keeping, however, a watchful eye on their arms, which they had hid beneath a heap of stones.

A small looking glass being presented to one of them, he seemed overjoyed with his acquisition; and having viewed himself in it two or three times, hugged it close to his bosom, and then ran away as fast as possible, as if apprehensive it might be wrested from him.

These simple people shewed a particular predilection for one of Monk's crew, who had long black hair, and was of a swarthy complexion, not much unlike themselves. It is probable, from their partiality, that they imagined he was a countryman of theirs, carried off in his infancy. This distinction afforded much diversion to his brother tars; but was not very grateful to the party himself, who was honoured by their notice.

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On his arrival in Hudson's Bay, Captain Monk determined to winter there. With this view he drew up his ships in a little creek, where they were sheltered from the inclemency of the weather. After this precaution, his people proceeded to erect huts, for their winter residence, near a river, which was free from ice in October, when all the surrounding seas were congealed.

Having provided themselves with as comfortable habitations as the forlorn circumstances of the country would permit; they began to lay in a stock of wood and wild fowl. Monk himself killed a white bear, on the flesh of which he and his men feasted most heartily; nor was it found unwholesome food.

On the 27th of November, they saw the appearance in the heavens of three suns. On the 10th of December, about eight at night, there was a lunar eclipse, soon after which the moon was encompassed with a very luminous circle.

The cold now set in with such intense severity, that neither beer, wine, nor brandy was able to resist it. The vessels, in which liquors were contained, split in pieces; and the strongest fluids became a solid body, and were hewn with hatchets, and melted before the fire. Even water, left in copper or tin vessels, over night, burst them before next morning.

Ice was observed to the thickness of three hundred feet.

In a clime so unpropitious, where even metals and minerals lost their usual powers of resistance, it was not likely that man should long be able to withstand its effects. The poor Danes, though habituated to severe cold, began to droop; and as the winter advanced, their disorders increased.

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In general they were seized by a griping laxity of body, which no arts within their reach could relieve, and death commonly followed the attack, though it was slow in mastering its prey. However, about the beginning of March, disease had made such ravages, that the captain was obliged to do duty as a sentry, for want of a sufficient number of men capable of discharging this office.

As spring advanced, an inveterate scurvy augmented their calamities. Their teeth were all loose, and the gums swelled to such a degree, that the miserable remnant of survivors could receive no nourishment but bread soaked in water; and of bread they soon began to feel a scarcity; so that they were under the necessity of using raspberries as a substitute for it, which they dugged out from under the snow; and found very salutary, when fresh, but incapable of being preserved.

In the month of May, another looseness attacked the miserable Danes, attended with violent pricking pains in the limbs; and they were universally covered with blue spots, and scarcely able to move. In this situation, death made such rapid progress, that a sufficient number was not left to perform the rites of sepulture; and famine was superadded to disease.

For seven months they had not seen rain. At last a shower fell; and soon after, aquatic birds, partridges, and snipes began to appear; but the Danes were too much reduced, to catch any of them.

On the 4th of June, Captain Monk himself fell dangerously ill, and was four days without any sustenance. Never expecting to recover, he
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made his will, in which he requested any person, who should chance to come that way, to see him buried, and to forward his journal to the King of Denmark. In a few days, however, he began to recover some small share of strength, and crept out of his hut, to see if there were any of his company alive; but, of sixty-four persons, only two survived.

These, overjoyed to find their captain had escaped so many calamities, carried him to a fire and refreshed him; while they encouraged each other with assurances of mutual assistance to the last gasp.

The ice now began to melt, and among the snow, they chanced to find a root, which proved a great restorative, as well as excellent food. By the use of this root, and by applying themselves to fishing and hunting, they gradually recovered such a degree of strength, as inspired them with hopes of being soon able to return to Denmark.

As the summer came on, they were pestered with such swarms of gnats, as made them hasten their departure. As it was impossible to navigate the larger ship with so few hands, she was left behind; and Monk and his two men went on board the smaller vessel on the 16th of July, steering towards Monk's Harbour; but they were so much incommoded by the ice, that they lost their boat and rudder. While engaged in making a new one, they moored their ship to a rock of ice, which being loosened by the tide, the ship drifted along with it; but the ice dissolving, they at last got disengaged, and providentially found their boat, which they had lost ten days before.

After being several times entangled among the ice, they were as often released by the change-

ablence

ableness of the weather ; and at last repassing the Straights and Cape Farewell, entered the ocean on the 8th of September. Immediately they were assailed by a violent tempest, which threatened them with inevitable destruction. Being worn out with lassitude and incapable of directing the vessel, they resigned themselves to Providence. The mast was brought by the board ; and it was with great difficulty that the sails were saved from being washed into the sea.

In this deplorable state they were forced upon the shore of Norway, where they cast a fragment of an anchor in a small creek ; hoping to shelter themselves against the storm. They were, however, in imminent danger of being lost ; but having at last outlived the tempest, they refreshed themselves for a few days, and then continued their voyage to Denmark.

As soon as Captain Monk landed, he set forward for Copenhagen, to give the king an account of his disastrous voyage, and his own miraculous escape. His majesty having given him up for lost, was agreeably surprised at his sight, shewed him many marks of his favour, and expressed himself satisfied with his endeavours.

Here we find Monk safe again in his native country, flattered by the approbation of his sovereign, and taught experience by the past. These circumstances combining, might reasonably be supposed to put an end to his sufferings ; but destiny seems to have reserved him for more, which all his resolution could not overcome.

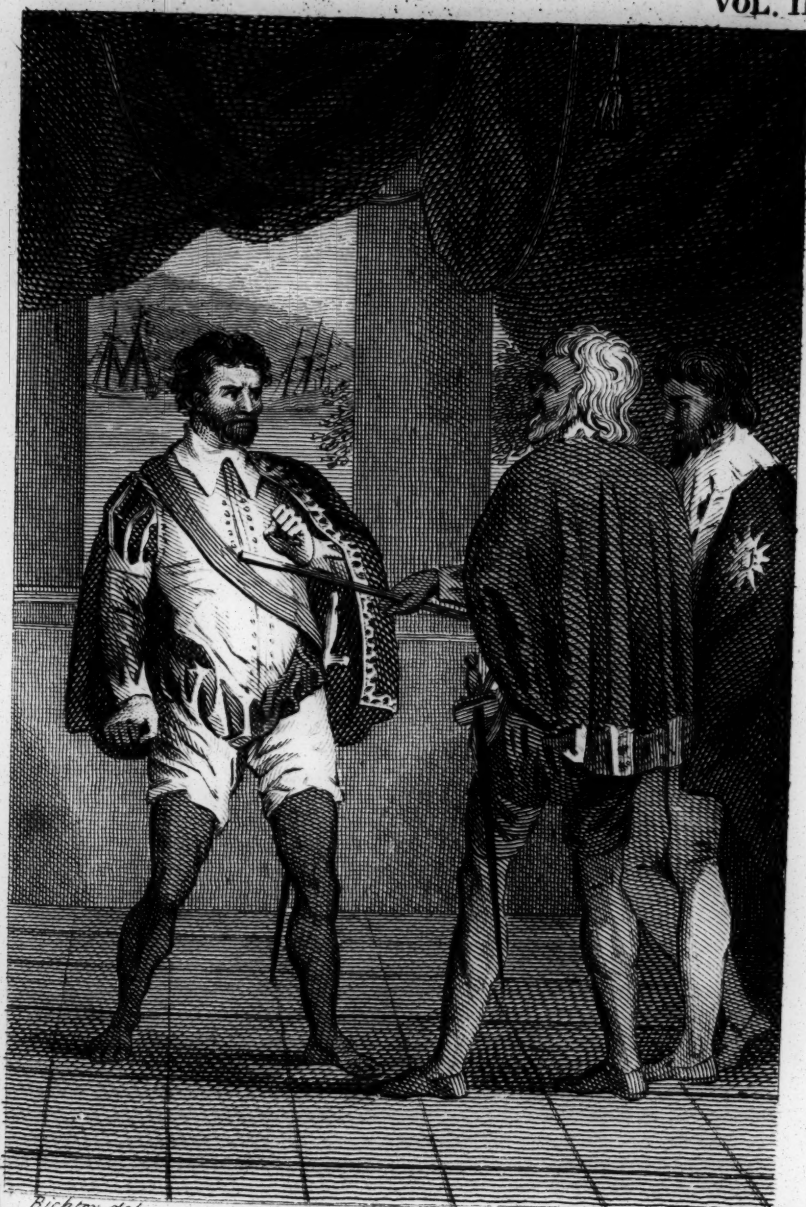
Captain Monk was an excellent mathematician as well as a man of intrepid spirit. Not intimidated by the dangers he had run through, he always insisted on the possibility of discovering a north-

north-west passage, which seems to have been the favourite hypothesis of every navigator in the same track. His acknowledged abilities caused him to be listened to; and at length he was employed by some Danish noblemen and merchants to attempt the execution of his favourite scheme. Accordingly, two ships were equipped, and supplied with all manner of necessaries, of which he was to have the chief command. In ruminating on the miscarriage of his former voyage, Monk drew the partial conclusion, that it arose from his inacquaintance with the seas in which he had sailed; and he hoped to profit by the experience he had obtained. But fortune ordered it otherwise. Just as he was about to sail, the King of Denmark wished to have an interview with him; and casually mentioning his former unfortunate voyage, observed, that he had already lost two ships and many brave men; and that therefore he ought to be cautious in hazarding another miscarriage.

Monk, nettled by this reflection, replied in a manner rather too hasty for the ear of royalty to endure. On this the king gave him a slight blow with his stick, on the breast, by way of repulse. The man, who had faced danger and death in their most hideous forms, could not endure the look of offended majesty and the indignity of an affront, which only reflected disgrace on him who offered it. He retired to his own house, overwhelmed with grief and vexation; and resolutely abstaining from all manner of sustenance, in three days resigned his breath.

* Should persons of high rank glance at the melancholy end of Monk in one page, we are anxious they should be taught to feel, what delicacy

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cacy of manners is due to an inferior. The unfortunate, however elevated their minds, and exalted their talents, need all the alleviations of the politest attention, when they come in contact with the dignity of rank and the splendor of opulence; and inhuman is that heart, which will refuse the cheap boon of easy civility and mild condescension.

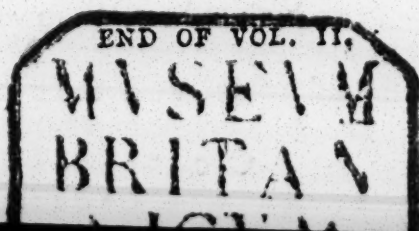
It may gratify the curious, to observe, that for a succession of years, before Monk undertook his voyage, several Danish monarchs had it much at heart to make a new settlement in these parts. Christian II. had bound himself by his coronation oath, to endeavour the recovery of Greenland; but instead of bringing new acquisitions to the crown, he lost both Sweden and Denmark, being deposed by his subjects; for which reason he is always painted with a broken sceptre.

Under the reign of this prince, Erick Walckendor, a brave Danish lord, was Chancellor of Denmark, and after his master's disgrace, was constituted Bishop of Drontheim, in Norway. This gentleman bent all his thoughts to the discovery of Greenland. To effect this, he examined all the ancient records relative to that country, and consulted the ablest and oldest mariners, who were supposed to have any knowledge of it; but whilst his design was in agitation, in consequence of a quarrel with another person of high rank, his banishment to Rome was procured, and in that city he died. Frederick I. Christian's uncle, having got possession of Denmark and Norway, was more intent in persecuting those whom he thought friendly to his nephew, than in consulting his own glory. The schemes of Walckendor were therefore laid aside, and their promoters disgraced.

Christian III. who succeeded Frederick, resumed the discovery of Greenland, and to facilitate this, recalled the severe prohibition of sailing there without licence. But Norway being reduced to great poverty and incapable of undertaking such a design, this encouragement proved abortive.

Frederick II. succeeded his father; and being inspired with the views of his predecessors, sent Magnus Henningson to prosecute the discovery of Greenland. If the narrative of these transactions may be regarded as authentic, it would appear as if some fatality prevented the accomplishment of the design. For Henningson, we are told, after being tossed up and down by tempests for a long time, came at last in sight of the shore; but, to his great amazement, found his ship remain motionless in the open sea, where there was no appearance of either ice or sands; so that all his endeavours to reach the coast proving ineffectual, he returned to Denmark, and gave an account to the king of the incident that had befallen him; ascribing his miscarriage to the quantity of magnets, which he supposed filled all the bottom of the sea, towards the shore, and kept his ship suspended.

This is certainly not a very philosophical way of accounting for the phenomenon; but as we cannot place an implicit reliance on the fact, it is unnecessary to speculate on the cause.



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